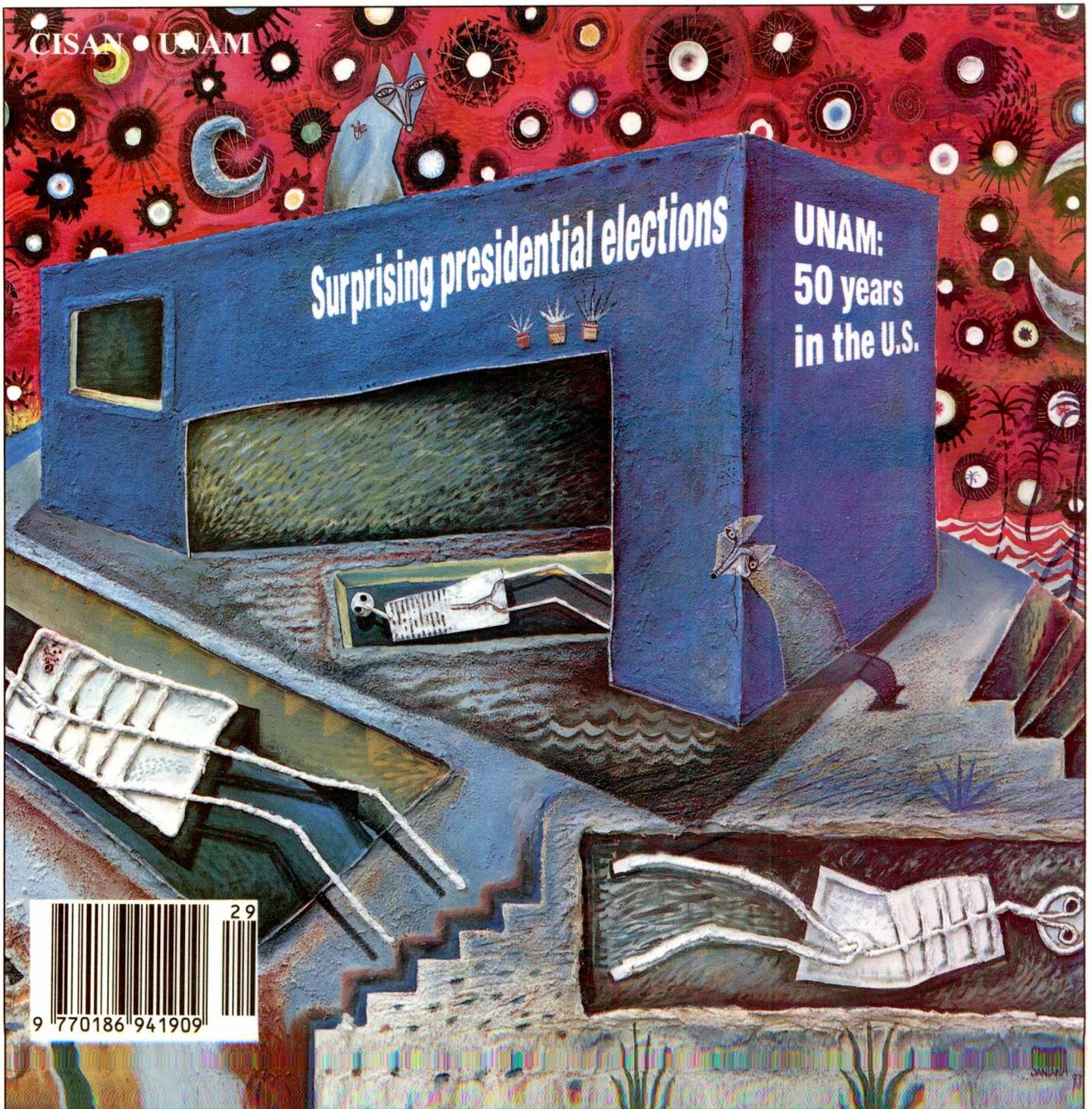


Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Mexican toys



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What does this painting have to do with Galveston, Texas?

National Museum of History, Mexico City.



EL ECSMO. SENOR CONDE DE GALVES.

This is a portrait of Bernardo de Gálvez, the 49th Viceroy of New Spain (as Mexico was called in the Colonial era). In 1777 he temporarily occupied part of the territory of Texas, with the aid of troops from Louisiana. The city of Galveston was named after him.

This oil painting on canvas measures approximately 6 ¾' x 6 ½'. The calligraphy was done by Fray Jerónimo and the painting by Fray Pablo de Jesús in 1796. The work is quite original, breaking from the portrait style characteristic of the 18th century.



CISA N

Voices
of
Mexico
MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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Voices of Mexico

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Our voice

Hugo B. Margáin

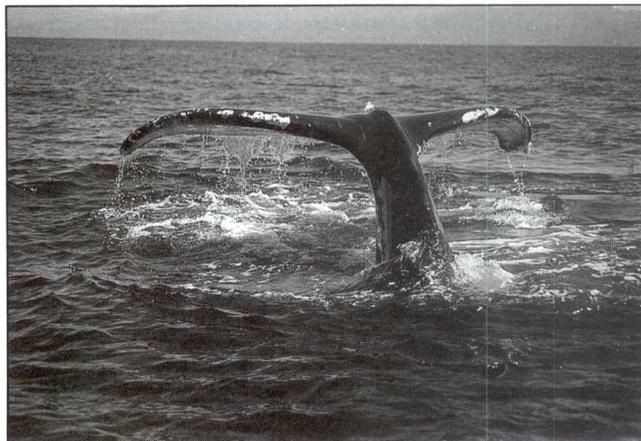
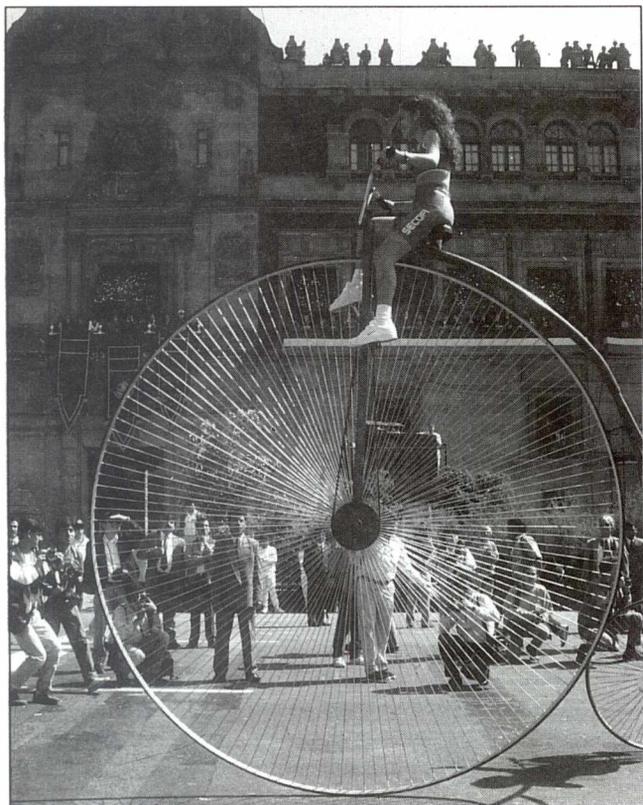
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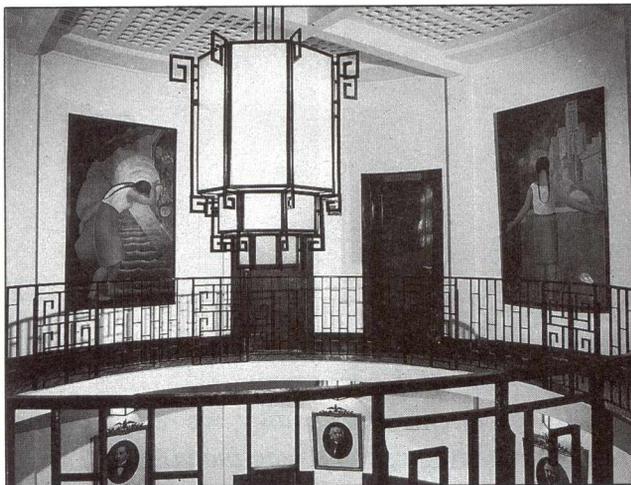
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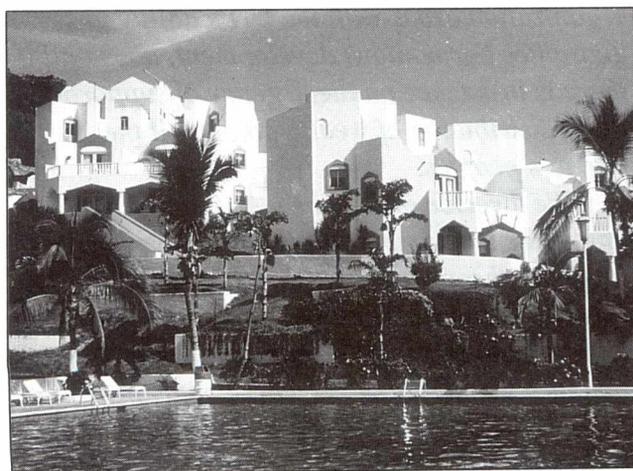


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BITS & PIECES

Cover: *Jorge Santana, Nobody Goes to Heaven Anymore, oil and throw-away items on canvas, 1993.*

Our voice

Mexico's electoral process ended on August 21, with positive results in terms of the number of voters. The majority of people registered to vote went to the polls in unprecedented numbers. The elections were carried out in complete peace throughout the country. Now there will be a period of waiting for the fulfillment of what has been promised: the separation of the PRI and the government, separation of powers within the republic, respect for federalism and municipal autonomy. All of the parties proclaimed, or included in their programs, the importance of education and a redistribution of wealth. The future must put an end to illiteracy and the poverty in which the majority of Mexicans live.

We celebrate the National University of Mexico's first fifty years in San Antonio, Texas. Intellectual exchange between neighboring countries is more important than ever before. UNAM's campus in the U.S. has carried out praiseworthy work: thousands of bilingual students got a head start on the movement of globalization that is currently in fashion worldwide. Getting to know each other better makes it easier to resolve problems between countries in the framework of mutual respect. The magnificent example of what has been accomplished in Texas has encouraged the rector to extend this effort to Canada.

Among the Mexican museums publicized in *Voices of Mexico*, the one we feature in this issue, dedicated to children, is outstanding. Children attend this museum to spend unforgettable hours playing, studying and admiring the exhibits. Knowledge is a very beautiful thing if it is supported by the innate joy of childhood. Papalote has been a great success

since it opened, and children keep asking to go back for more of this museum.

Always attentive to ecology, we report on the work of a distinguished Argentine visiting researcher at CISAN who specializes in the universal problem of garbage. She offers us a study proposing forms for adequately administering waste.

Whales are threatened with extinction due to the excessive hunting to which they are exposed. Mexico participates in international efforts devoted to preserving these mammals. If a species disappears, it is lost forever and the planet's ecological equilibrium deteriorates. Baja California's Magdalena Bay has therefore been declared a sanctuary, and in this issue we report on the whale sanctuary in the South Antarctic. Respecting the world's species is an obligation for humanity. Unfortunately some countries allow excessive hunting, for merely economic reasons.

Jorge Montaña, Mexico's ambassador to the United States, writes on the world order in relation to the United Nations. No other world organization exists with the UN's ability to guarantee harmonious development, above all if there is insistence on the urgency of supporting the redistribution of wealth among all the planet's peoples.

The director of Puebla's Amparo Museum, one of the most important in the country, writes on philanthropy in Mexico. In this museum, Angeles Espinosa Yglesias—by vocation and with private resources—has devoted herself to maintaining highly select works of art from our splendid past. Her museum has enjoyed enormous and well-deserved success. Mexico

needs the support of all in order to preserve our history.

The National Palace has been the seat of government from pre-Columbian times up to the present. This site has lived through fateful and happy moments of our past, and houses great riches of our historical heritage. For example, the bell Miguel Hidalgo rang in Dolores,

Hidalgo, on September 15, 1810, to proclaim Mexico's Independence can be seen on the palace's central balcony.

The distinguished painter Angel Zárraga and the notable architect José Luis Ezquerro are examples of the force of

all kinds of art in our country. We include an article on the arrival of wheat in Mexico, with which the grains of three continents are complete: the rice of Asia, the corn of the Americas and the wheat of Europe. We consume all three daily.

Also presented in this issue is a summary of the economic program of the presidential candidate elected on August 21. When he publicizes his political and social program as well, we will cover them. We stress that there must be a better distribution of cultural and economic goods among the people. Internationally, the recent elections made a positive impression; and Mexico is on the threshold of great progress, which must extend to all ❧

Hugo B. Margáin
Editorial Director.



Fifty years of UNAM in the U.S.

*Shahrzad Dowlatshahi**

As unsuspecting tourists walk through HemisFair Park in downtown San Antonio, they are pleasantly surprised by a number of pre-Hispanic replicas. Curiosity beckons them to find out more, and they enter Plaza México, located in the middle of the park, behind the Convention Center. There they find a two-story building at the end of the Plaza, with an imposing sign reading “Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.” They squint, not quite sure of what they read. The most curious, not satisfied with what they see, decide to venture into this building. What’s this about a Mexican university here in San Antonio?

This is a common reaction of visitors who come to this city not only from other parts of the United States but from Mexico as well. It must seem rather bizarre to many people to see a foreign university campus in the United States. International exchange programs are common between universities and certain universities sometimes open offices in a country where they have specific interests. But no other foreign university actually has a campus in this country.

Well, we might as well guess the next questions from curious tourists. How, why and when? Of course they suspect that the campus has only been here for a few years. Try telling them that *UNAM* is celebrating its Golden Anniversary in San Antonio—a 50-year presence in the United States. That leaves our visitors speechless!

Keeping a proud heritage alive

But how and why? Our visitors persist, wanting to understand a little more. Fifty years ago, *UNAM* came to San Antonio in the form of annual courses that took place during the winter months. Outstanding scholars from Mexico would come to instruct eager students in the language and culture of Mexico. Although negotiations for

the courses began in 1943, it was not until the following year, on September 16, Mexican Independence Day, that classes actually began. It should be noted that this was during the Second World War, a time when cross-border exchanges were not usually welcomed.

Also unusual are the reasons behind this project. *UNAM*'s presence here was based not on official negotiations between two governments, but rather on a request by a group of Mexican emigrés residing in San Antonio. These were people who felt a deep need to keep their cultural heritage alive. This emigrant community had grown in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution. The first *UNAM* courses found their audience among this proud and nostalgic community, residing on the West Side of San Antonio, who wanted their American children not to forget about Mexico.

The history of *UNAM* in San Antonio involves many individuals. To achieve their dreams, this group worked closely with the Mexican Consulate and organizations such as the Mexican Chamber of Commerce and even the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce. But it was the perseverance and faith of the emigrants themselves that kept the courses alive, even through severe financial troubles at the end of the forties.

Private donations made the continuation of courses possible until 1952, when an organization was created with the sole purpose of facilitating and promoting these classes in San Antonio. Over the following twenty years, the Patronato de los Cursos de Extensión Universitaria, its members drawn from different parts of the community, worked closely with *UNAM*'s “Escuela de Verano” (Summer School) in Mexico City—later renamed the School for Foreign Students—to continue the tradition of academic excellence initiated in 1944.

The audience also changed over this period, as the non-Spanish-speaking Anglo community developed a tremendous interest in learning about Mexico. Although the courses continued to serve the needs of San Antonio's Mexican community, they became increasingly universal, serving to promote Mexican language and culture among all interested persons. Hundreds of students from diverse cultural and social backgrounds participated in these yearly events; each came away not only with what they had learned but also with unique memories of the special people they had met and the experiences they had lived. There is no doubt that the perception many San Antonians held of Mexico, its people, history and culture changed during those years as a result of these courses.

Eight homes in 28 years

During the first twenty-eight years the courses were held at different locations: the San Antonio Technical and Vocational School (now known as Fox Tech), Brackenridge High School, Mark Twain Middle School,

I would like to thank Ed Rademaekers for revising and editing this text.

* Special Projects Coordinator at *UNAM*'s Permanent Extension School in San Antonio.

San Antonio College, Trinity Baptist Church, McNay Museum and Incarnate Word College. However, Trinity University hosted these courses continuously from 1955 to 1971. On the Mexican side, the courses continued to be organized and structured by the different directors of *UNAM*'s School for Foreign Students, who were also considered directors of the courses in San Antonio.

In 1970-71, the Patronato and *UNAM* played a major role in bringing an extensive and important exhibition by contemporary Mexican artists to San Antonio. The exhibit was so successful that it played an influential role in decisions leading to the establishment of a permanent Mexican cultural presence in San Antonio. Additionally, from 1970 onwards, under the Patronato's continued sponsorship, a search was undertaken for a permanent home for these courses. Thereafter, San Antonio's city government began to realize the importance of *UNAM*'s presence in the cultural life of the city. Four years after San Antonio hosted a World's Fair in 1968, the city provided one of the fair's pavilions as a permanent home for the *UNAM* courses.

These facilities were inaugurated by then Mexican President Luis Echeverría, under the auspices of the Mexican Cultural Institute, which was also given a permanent home adjacent to the new *UNAM* campus. The Mexican Cultural Institute and *UNAM* operated jointly for one year before embarking on separate courses. Thereafter, 1972 marked the beginning of a new chapter in the involvement and commitment of *UNAM* in San Antonio.

A new campus, a new name and a new support group

The mission of the campus, now known as the Permanent Extension School of *UNAM*, continued to be the promotion of the Spanish language and Mexican culture. It also continued to be an affiliate of the School for Foreign Students, although it had now established an administrative infrastructure of its own.

From 1972 to 1986, the school continually expanded and increased the numbers of students enrolled. As a Mexican academic institution on foreign soil, the various administrations that directed the campus were always faced with exciting challenges. Every new director introduced new ideas and concepts aimed at improving the services offered, which in turn strengthened *UNAM*'s image within the San Antonio community.

Aside from the year-round language and culture courses offered, special events were organized and a number of courses related to non-cultural aspects of Mexico were also periodically organized. Beginning in 1983, academic activity grew to encompass the teaching of English as a second language in response to overwhelming demand from Mexicans living in the city.

As a result of this continuous growth, a major effort to find new facilities was undertaken by a new support group,

Amigos de Plaza México, formed in 1983 with the objective of supporting the Mexican institutions located in the plaza. The original support group that had worked with *UNAM* prior to 1972 had become an independent organization, eventually renamed the Patronato de la Cultura Hispanoamericana; while it was supportive of the *UNAM* school during the early seventies, it took on a new mission no longer linked to the *UNAM* courses, but rather to the promotion of Hispanic-American culture as a whole. Working with the city government and Amigos de Plaza México, a new building was constructed and inaugurated in 1986.

This heralded another phase in the development of the Mexican university. With the newly created space, the school has continued to grow and prosper, taking on an ever-broadening role in educating public and private sectors of the American population on Mexico and its language. Many steps were taken to encourage research in diverse areas related to bilateral relations between Mexico and the U.S. Since 1989, the San Antonio campus has received considerable support and encouragement from the administration of José Sarukhán, the current Rector of the University. This has brought about an increase in services, activities, academic performance, efficiency and modernization.

In 1991, *UNAM* was a major participant in the events that complemented the "Splendors of Mexico" exhibition that toured major cities in the United States, including San Antonio. A monumental exhibition from Mexico City's



UNAM can pride itself on setting precedents, exemplifying the spirit of cooperation between two countries.

Chapultepec Castle was built at the school and inaugurated by the president of Mexico, Carlos Salinas. This was a historic occasion, marking the first visit of a Mexican president to the new location.

With NAFTA, another new mission

In the same year, the school's library was reinaugurated and renamed the Rómulo Munguía Library. It was a fitting honor for one of the members of the original group that founded the *UNAM* campus, who had worked tirelessly on this endeavor for almost thirty years.

A special collections room, containing the newly-formed Henry Cisneros Special Collection, was added to the library earlier this year. Grandson of Rómulo Munguía, former mayor of San Antonio and now Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Cisneros donated all his documents and papers pertaining to his academic background and career in public service.

A new bibliographical reference section on NAFTA-related topics is currently being developed to serve the business and financial community. All this adds a new and unique dimension to the services the library offers.

An unprecedented step was taken in 1992-93 when a seminar and module were initiated on various aspects of trade with Mexico. This seminar, hosted by distinguished scholars on loan from *UNAM* in Mexico City, targeted business persons, scientists, politicians and scholars who needed specific information on Mexico in light of the pending Free Trade Agreement.

On the cultural side, and under the guidelines set forth by *UNAM*'s Cultural Affairs System in Mexico, the school has increased its role as an avid promoter of Mexican art, organizing countless events, including many symposia and conferences. Indeed, the Cultural Affairs System considers the San Antonio Campus as a treasured venue for diverse cultural activities that have not been offered in the United States previously.

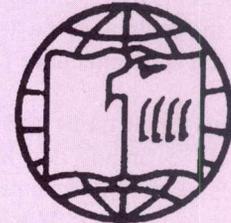
All this has taken place in addition to the school's teaching role, which has also grown extensively with enrollments increasing every year. The first publication ever produced by the San Antonio campus—a Spanish-language learning text—was presented this year. Further publications are currently in process. Demands for certain courses have been such that the need for additional classroom space has become an urgent priority for the school's administration.

A new area of growth of the San Antonio *UNAM* campus has been in Mexico itself. *UNAM* in San Antonio has become widely identified throughout Mexico as a place for people interested in coming to the United States to learn English. Enrollment from these Mexican visitors has grown so much that it has had a positive economic impact on the city itself. Additionally, different institutions and schools within *UNAM* have begun to take increasing

advantage of the school as a "liaison" with academic institutions in Texas.

With all this growth and transformation, what can be said of the original goal of reaching out to the Mexican-American population in San Antonio? There is no doubt that beneath all the changes, this has continued to be a key mission carried out by *UNAM* in the community. In addition to all its cultural and academic services, the school has recently embarked on a community outreach program aimed predominantly at Hispanic youth in San Antonio, with the objective of fostering awareness of, and pride in, the Hispanic cultural heritage.

Today, new doors are continually being opened. With the establishment of numerous Mexican institutions and businesses in San Antonio, *UNAM* can pride itself on setting precedents, exemplifying the spirit of cooperation and mutual respect that can be achieved between two countries. The relationship between the university and the city of San Antonio, as well as the community as a whole, has been the most basic and significant element in the continued success of the only branch of a foreign university in the United States of America. Fifty years of this presence truly constitutes a major achievement, worthy of celebration on both sides of the border. 



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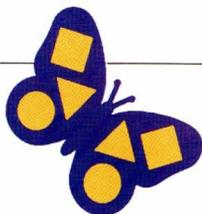
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Papalote, the Children's Museum



*Miguel Angel Pichardo E.**

Touch, play and learn

In November 1993 a new institution opened its doors, aiming to enrich the cultural life of Mexico City: Papalote, Museo del Niño.¹

The modern buildings that make up this special museum are located in

¹ *Papalote* is a Náhuatl word meaning kite; Museo del Niño means the Children's Museum. (Editor's note.)

* Director of Development for the Papalote museum.

the second section of Chapultepec Park, on grounds that once belonged to the National Glass Factory.

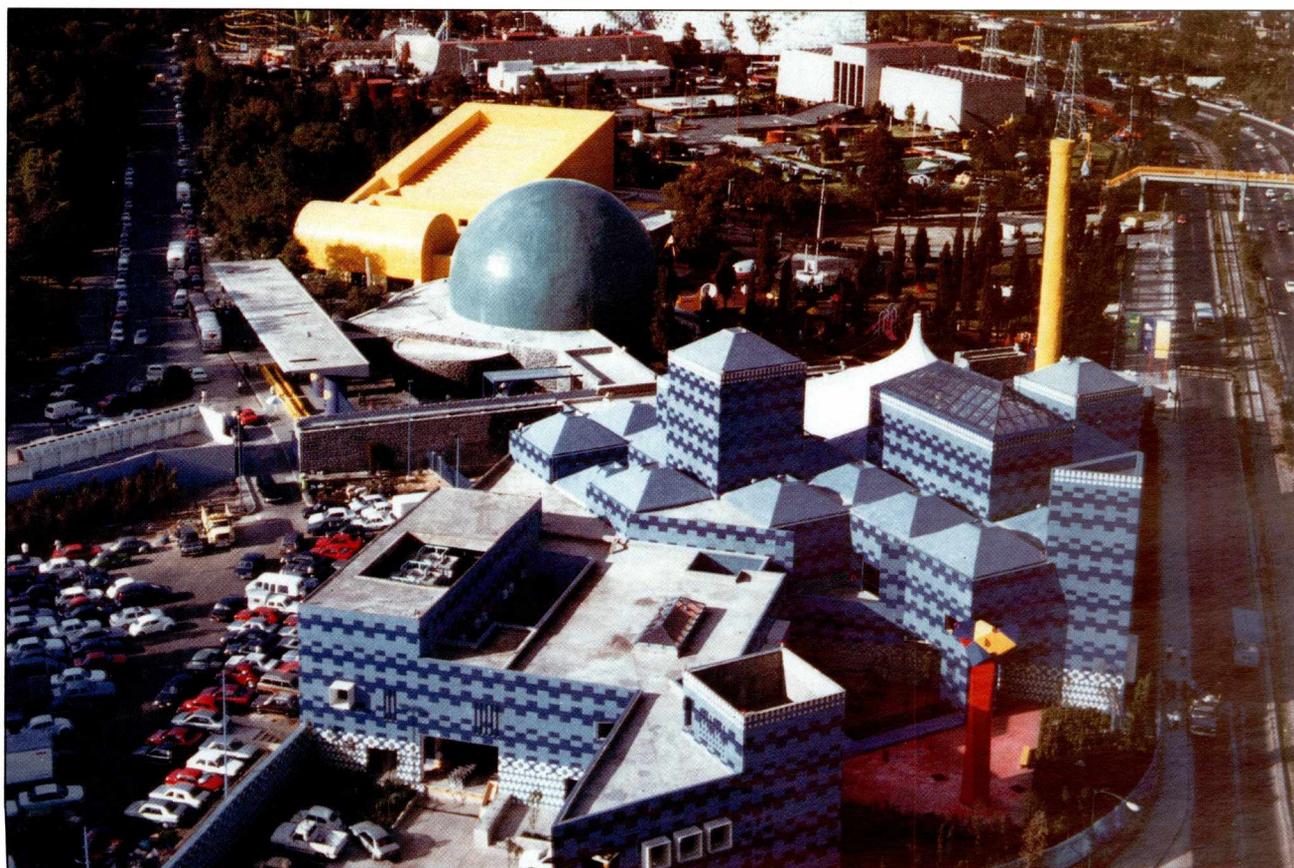
Papalote seeks to assist in educating children and young people, the future leaders of Mexico, helping them learn the research and analysis tools which are indispensable in a world of constant change.

Its interactive structure makes it different from other museums: it seeks to help children and adults alike

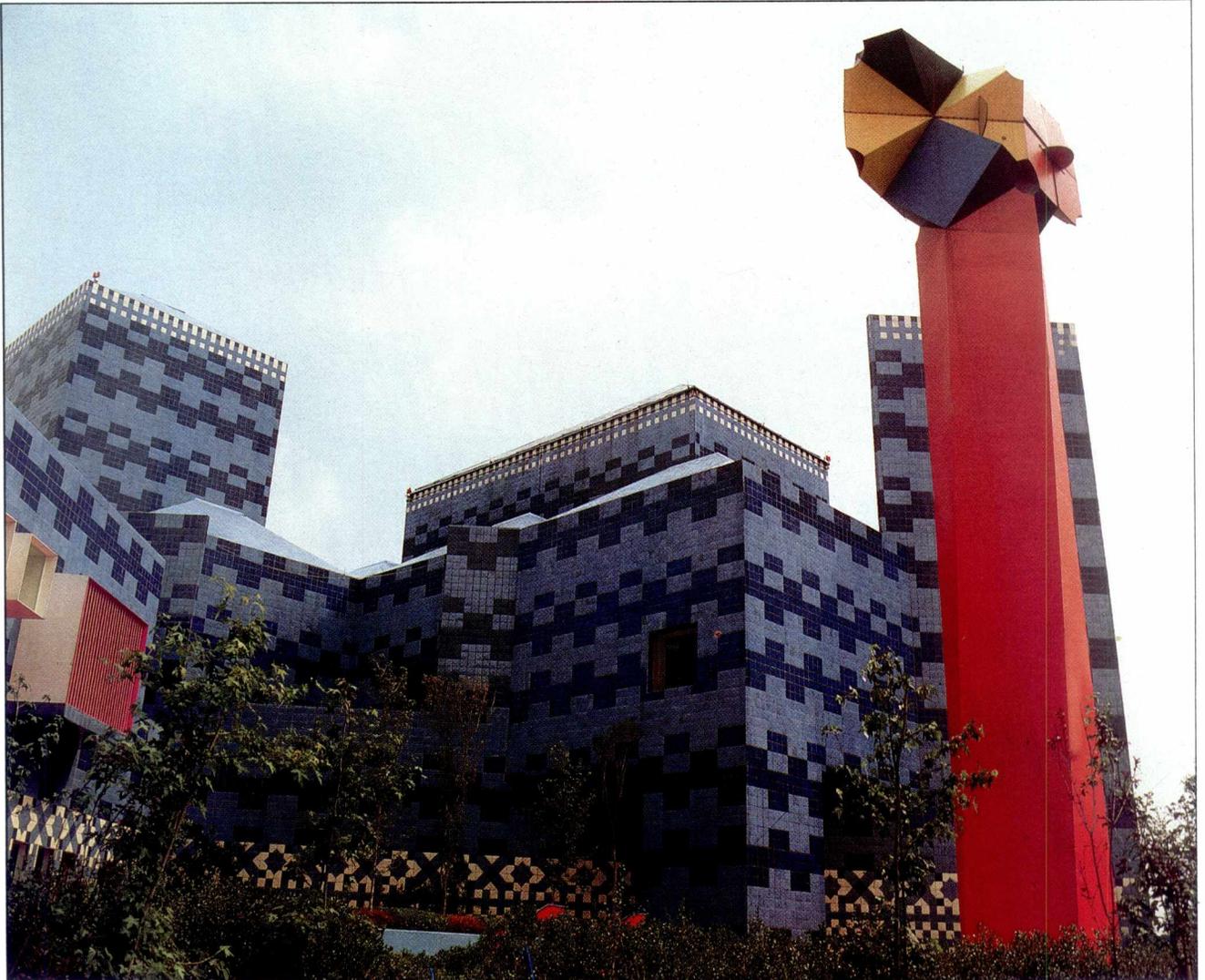
understand why things happen —by making them happen. Thus it helps introduce, or complement, what is learned in schools, laboratories and libraries.

It's against the rules not to touch

This phrase, posted at Papalote's entrance, sums up the philosophy behind this extraordinary museum, which has adopted new ways of promoting learning among children.



Other museums of this size and quality take 5-10 years to be completed. Papalote was inaugurated after only 2 years.



The museum grounds once belonged to the National Glass Factory.

This involves the recognition that human curiosity, the natural urge to investigate, is a search for explanations of the phenomena that surround us. The principle of “learning by doing” has been the source of many of humanity’s greatest discoveries.

The concept of interactive museums is not a new one. The educational theories of John Dewey, Maria Montessori and Jean Piaget laid the groundwork for the sort of learning experience provided by such museums.

In 1961 the Boston Children’s Museum took up these educators’ conceptions, seeking to provide an environment that would foster

learning through play, with toys and games called interactive exhibits.

There are now 400 such museums throughout the world. All of them have shown the potential of “interactiveness” or direct action to encourage learning in an innovative, accessible and fun way which complements the formal education provided at school.

A high-flying kite

The idea of creating a children’s museum in our country was proposed by a group of prominent young entrepreneurs who, in 1991—after visiting several museums abroad—set out to establish a

museum that Mexico’s children would enjoy.

To fulfill this dream they founded a civic association, establishing a board of directors which, in turn, carried out a fundraising campaign for the project. 290 companies and individuals contributed to the construction and development of Papalote.

Lots of hard work and a great team made it possible to set a new record by inaugurating the museum after only two years. Other museums of this size and quality usually take between five and ten years to be completed.

The museum achieved striking results after coming on line. Four thousand visitors arrive each day. As for Papalote's pedagogical value, surveys have found that 95 percent of visitors say that interacting with the exhibits was a learning experience.

The museum also has a program to sponsor visits by public-school classes, which brings 16,000 lower-income students from Mexico City primary schools to Papalote each month. This is made possible through the support of several important businesses whose contributions pay for the students' transportation and museum tickets.

Cuates help visitors

No predetermined route has been set for visitors to the museum. The 290 interactive exhibits are divided into five major subjects: the Human Body, Consciousness/Science,² Expressions, Our World and Communication.

The exhibits consist of apparatuses which reproduce phenomena, helping the visitor understand how things work, including machines. This encourages discovery through direct action, since the exhibits work at the speed appropriate for whichever person is using them.

² In Spanish the title, *Con-Ciencia*, is a play on words combining "consciousness" and "science." (Editor's note.)

The displays have been carefully selected to stimulate children's creativity and imagination, and are geared to well-defined teaching objectives.

To help explain the exhibits, young students called *cuates* — a Náhuatl-derived word meaning "friend" or "my other self" — act as facilitators, responding to visitors' specific needs, taking into account their interests and ages and the kind of information they require.

A museum with a Mexican flavor

Papalote, the Children's Museum, bears the stamp of Mexican culture. An example are the museum's colors, design and architecture, together with



Arturo Píera.

Papalote is a fun way to learn.



The principle of "learning by doing" has been the source of many of humanity's greatest discoveries.

the content of the exhibits it presents. In addition to displays which use the highest-level technology to explain aspects of universal knowledge, visitors encounter a number of authentically and specifically Mexican cultural expressions.

Among them is the extraordinary collection of Mexican toys. Today's kids would consider some of them a "blast from the past," while for many grown-ups they bring back memories of their own childhood. This is a place where the generations come together, as parents and children play and learn while sharing their experiences and interests.

More than a museum

Papalote has other attractions apart from its exhibits. One of them is the "superscreen": Mexico City's first auditorium to be equipped with the IMAX projection system, where 70 mm digital-sound films are shown, allowing for the highest quality in sound and image. The auditorium holds 330 people. The topics of the films are selected to complement visitors' tour of the museum, and in addition to showings during Papalote's regular hours, the superscreen can be used for evening events.

Given that many tourists and busy executives lack the time to come

during the day, on Thursdays a special night schedule has been established, from 7 to 11 p.m.

Visitors who pay a special rate, slightly above the regular entrance fee, can see two films on the superscreen in addition to touring the museum. Funds collected are used for upkeep so more children will be able to enjoy the museum.

In addition to a cafeteria and parking lot, there is also a remarkable store offering educational toys, books, handicrafts and souvenirs of visits to the Papalote museum 

Toys with the guarantee of time

At first sight the toys of Mexico arouse curiosity: what do they do and how do they work? Unlike toy rifles, trains or dolls, how they are used is often not apparent from looking at them.

Enigmatic and surprising like many Mexican traditions, some of these toys are operated through simple mechanisms: just moving a little stick or a bit of straw makes the little bird eat from his dish of seed or a pair of boxers begin to fight. You can even trap a boyfriend with the *pezca novios* (boyfriend-catcher), a woven tube which grabs onto the finger stuck into it and won't let go.

Wood, painted tin, gourds, straw, wicker, palm, nutshells—all these materials found in the countryside are



*Little toy soldier
don't go to war
don't make trouble.¹
May battles be dear
and peace come cheap.
It would be better to
become a cowboy
and go sing a serenade.*

¹ This is a pun, since *lata* (slang for trouble) also means tin. (Editor's note.)

used to make Mexican toys. Rich in regional variety, the toys are often accompanied by songs, chants or fortune-telling games.

Sources of inspiration

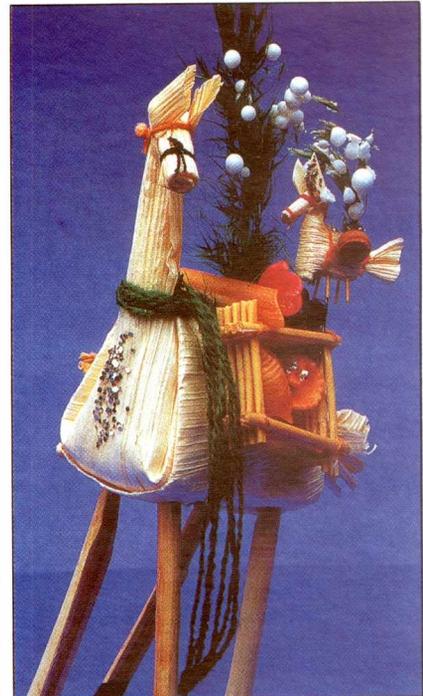
Toys and games reflect the many influences that have shaped Mexican culture.

In pre-Hispanic times games were mainly played for ritual purposes, with the objective of ensuring that the seasons would follow their cyclical course, that nature would be reborn, that the sun would rise and set—in other words, to prevent the extinction of order and humanity itself.

Nevertheless, codices from this period do not mention the existence of children's toys.

Spanish colonization introduced many traditions, particularly religious ones, which are still observed throughout Mexico today. Some festivals are symbolized by a toy, such as the traditional Corpus Thursday *mulita* (little mule), which is made in different sizes from corn husks, mud, tulle or blown glass, carrying gourds loaded with flowers and fruits. This represents the Indians who brought the best part of their harvests to the cathedral on that day.

The Day of the Dead's skeletons, graves and angels turn out to be sweets made from sugar, which children use as toys before eating them. Christmas parties feature little paper lanterns, whistles, flares, small candles, and above all piñatas. Traditional piñatas are shaped like stars, although today many of them are modeled after characters like the Simpsons, the



Corpus Thursday mulita.

Flintstones, etc., in line with the fashion of the moment. Nativity scenes abound during the same part of the year.

The child reproduces his or her daily life through games and toys. Food, visits to the doctor, little cars, toy soldiers—among other things—have become a tradition. Despite being hand-made, these toys continue to be very inexpensive in Mexico.

While rural children don't have sophisticated toys, they do have the advantage of playing in the countryside, which provides inspiration for their games. Natural and household objects that have fallen into disuse become their toys. An old tire is good for rolling around with a stick, soda cans can be made into telephones just by connecting them with string, a rope tied onto a tree becomes a swing and a twisted tree trunk can be used as a seesaw.

Miniatures and masks

In various regions of Mexico, artisans pass the trade of miniature-making along from generation to generation.

Tlaquepaque, Jalisco is particularly interesting for its tradition of depicting daily life in miniature.

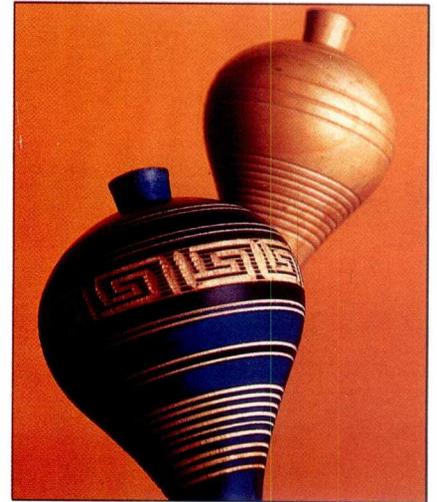
Scenes of town life are reproduced through figurines made of wire which is covered in clay and painted: the church, the news stand, women sitting on tiny benches in their *rebozos* (traditional shawls), children and parents dressed as cowboys taking a walk through the plaza. Scenes of a Sunday cockfight or rodeo are meticulously reproduced by hand.

San Luis Potosí is the birthplace of *retablos*: small boxes decorated

with miniatures, usually on religious themes but also relating to life during the Mexican Revolution. Examples are the replicas of hacienda kitchens with their walls covered in little cooking pots, the stove made of Talavera-style tiles, with a painted flower vase and even a minuscule *metate* (mortar and stone for grinding spices). There are also satires of death, with a skeleton stabbing somebody with a dagger as his victim laughs.



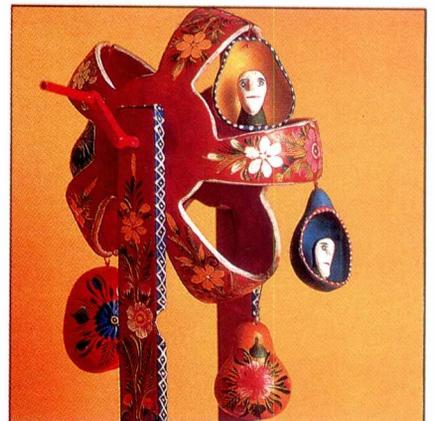
A beautiful Day of the Dead altar.



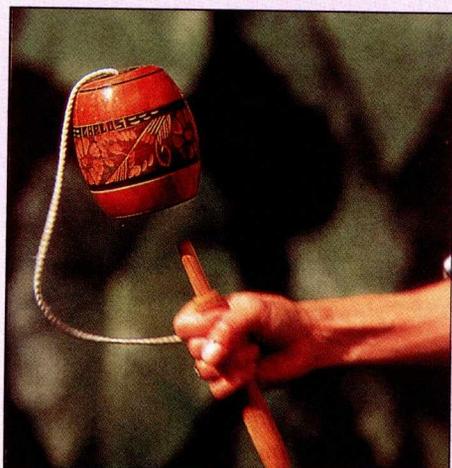
Dancing and spinning, spinning and dancing.

Pátzcuaro, Michoacán has a legendary tradition of mask-making. Pre-Hispanic warriors made masks to represent the figures they were most afraid of, or which were unknown to them, such as the heads of jaguars, snakes, demons, two-headed monsters or grotesque faces with several eyes and protruding tongues. By wearing them, they sought to instill in their opponents the same fear they felt, while taking on the attributes of the figures represented.

Today, young artisans have turned these terrifying faces into finely carved and enamelled works of art which, rather than toys, have become collector's items.



A very Mexican wheel of fortune.



*Without a shirt or tie
pants or suit
the skinny and the fat
are tied together.*

The cup-and-ball game!

candle, are placed in a tub of water and used in a fairground game.

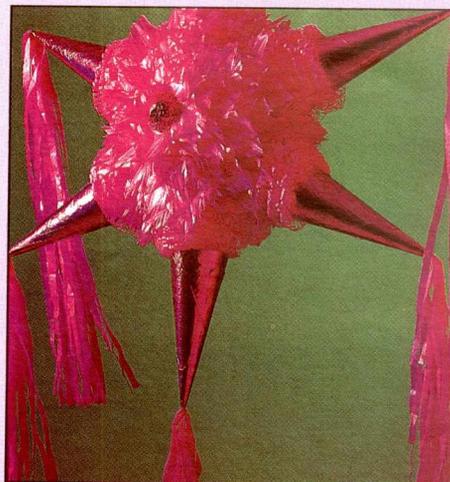
Musical toys are similar to the original instruments they are based on. Since Mexico has a strong musical tradition, the little violins, drums, guitars, flutes, ukuleles, rattles and other instruments made as children's toys produce such high-quality sounds that genuine regional musicians use them in concerts and recordings, to evoke a particular sound.

Many of the toys which originated in the Colonial mixture of Indian and Spanish culture have odd, barely

Naive art

Naive art is manifested not only in Indian folk painting but also in popular toys; brilliant and contrasting colors reflect innocence and simplicity, originality and playfulness. Among these are little animal figurines such as the armadillo painted in bright hues with black stripes, its head attached by a spring which makes it bob up and down in a funny way; or the tiny box out of which, when opened, there pops a wooden snake's head poised to bite. Small tin boats, painted in metallic colors and bearing a little

*I don't want gold
I don't want silver (plata)
what I want
is to break the piñata.*

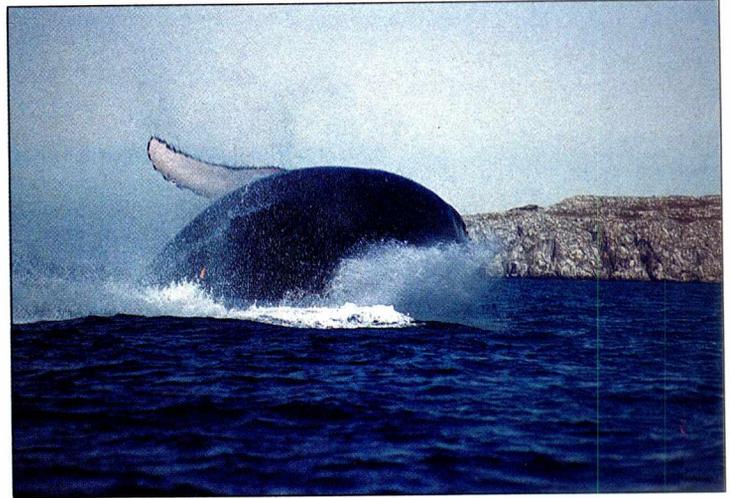
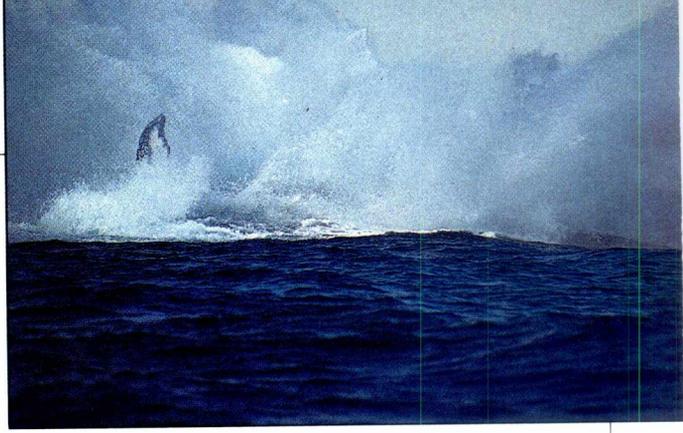


*During the day I unwrap it
at night I cover it
sometimes with rags
and sometimes with cardboard.*

translatable names, such as *rehilete* (dart), *balero* (a cup-and-ball toy), *timbiriche* (a game of dots and lines), *matraca* (rattle), *trompo* (top) and *pirinola* (a rectangular top bearing messages).

Like a toy train, Mexican toys have travelled many a road, from the Industrial Revolution to the age of electronics. Yet traditional toys are unaffected by these trends and just watch them roll by. It may come to pass that they suffer the fate of their counterparts in Japan or Germany, where hand-made popular toys are more expensive than ones that are mass-produced in factories ✕

Whale sanctuary in the south Antarctic Sea

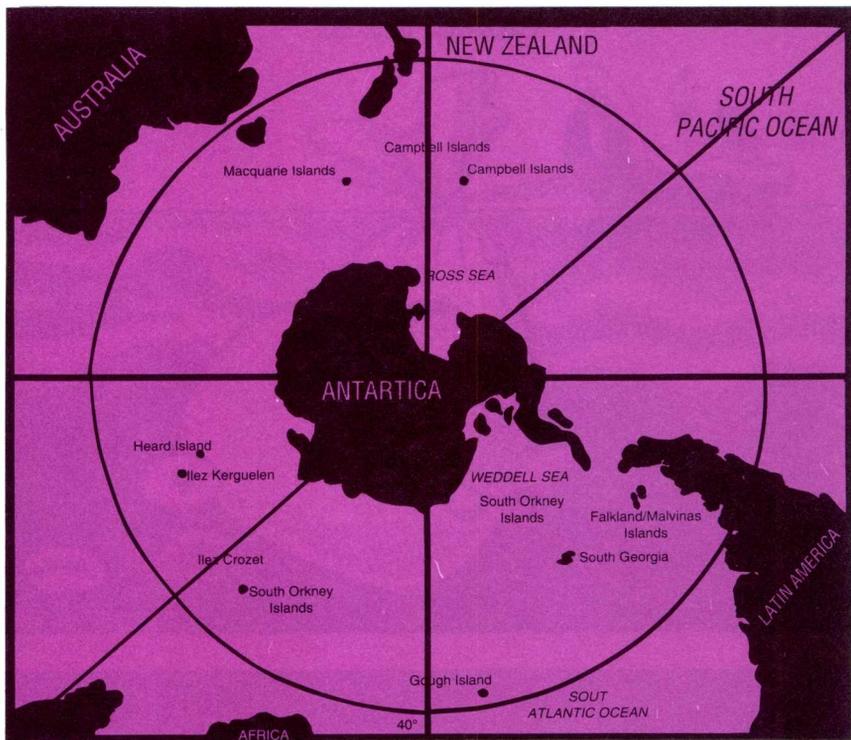


If a communiqué traveling the ocean depths could tell whales about the conclusions reached by the International Whaling Commission (IWC), they would surely celebrate the news.

At its 46th meeting, held in Puerto Vallarta from May 23 to 27, the IWC decided to continue the whaling moratorium voted in 1982 and put into effect in 1986, as well as to establish a secure zone in the south Antarctic Sea for the protection of these mammals.

The unbridled hunt for the planet's biggest creature, which in the fifty years following 1929¹ caused the virtual extinction of some species, led to the establishment of this sanctuary, with the participation of representatives from 31 countries, as well as more than 20 conservation groups.² With 23 votes in favor, one opposed and six abstentions,³ it was decided to establish the sanctuary.

Japan was alone in its opposition to the sanctuary, and not even its allies—such as Norway, Grenada, the Dominican Republic, Saint Vincent and the Solomon Islands—supported its proposal that there be open season on the Minke whale. Japan argues that this kind of whale is abundant in Pacific waters and that if it is not hunted it will feed on other



Map of whale sanctuary, from the 40th parallel south latitude to the edge of Antarctic ice.

species, thereby affecting the marine food chain.

World opinion has noted that Japan, followed by Norway, is a key predator when it comes to whales—for which it pays exorbitant prices—as well as dolphins and other marine species used in the enormous Japanese meat, oil and skin-cream industries.

A world apart

The evolution of whales and dolphins began during the middle Eocene, 50 million years ago. During this period they lost the hind legs and mobile neck of their land-dwelling forebears, acquiring powerful side and tail fins. The bearded cetaceans are the giants of our planet.

The blue whale is probably the largest creature ever to have existed, topping even elephants and dinosaurs. In 1926, south of the Shetland Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, a female was captured which

weighed 200 tons and measured more than 100 feet in length.⁴

Marine biologists have helped reveal the mysteries of this fascinating world, including the incredible ways in which whales communicate, form couples, reproduce and survive.

Their findings show an enormous variety in the ways of life of different species. Among the examples is the grey whale, which travels in communities during its migrations, following the rule “women and children first” and males at the end, in order to protect the group. In contrast, the blue whale, when migrating, travels huge distances alone—a fact which favors those who hunt this species. Despite the ill repute given it by Herman Melville’s novel *Moby Dick*, it

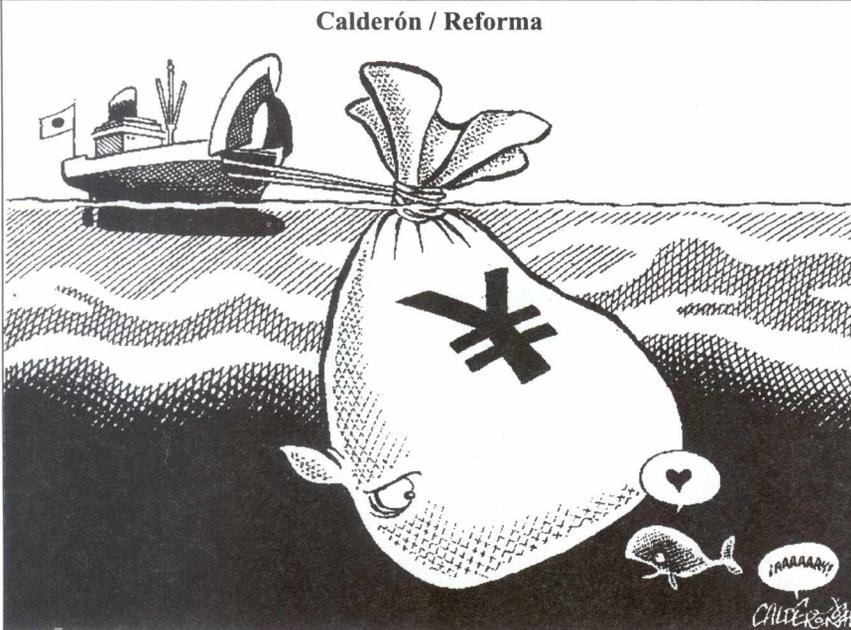
⁴ Michael Bright, *Ballenas, delfines, tiburones—los reyes del océano* (Whales, Dolphins, Sharks—Kings of the Ocean). Barcelona, Ediciones Folio, 1992, pp. 11, 21.

¹ Between 1929 and 1979 more than 2 million whales were caught; 20,000 per year (*Reforma*, June 5, 1994).

² Among them the World Wildlife Fund, Mexican Free Trade Action Network, Pronatura, International Conservation, Naturalia, Greenpeace and the Group of 100.

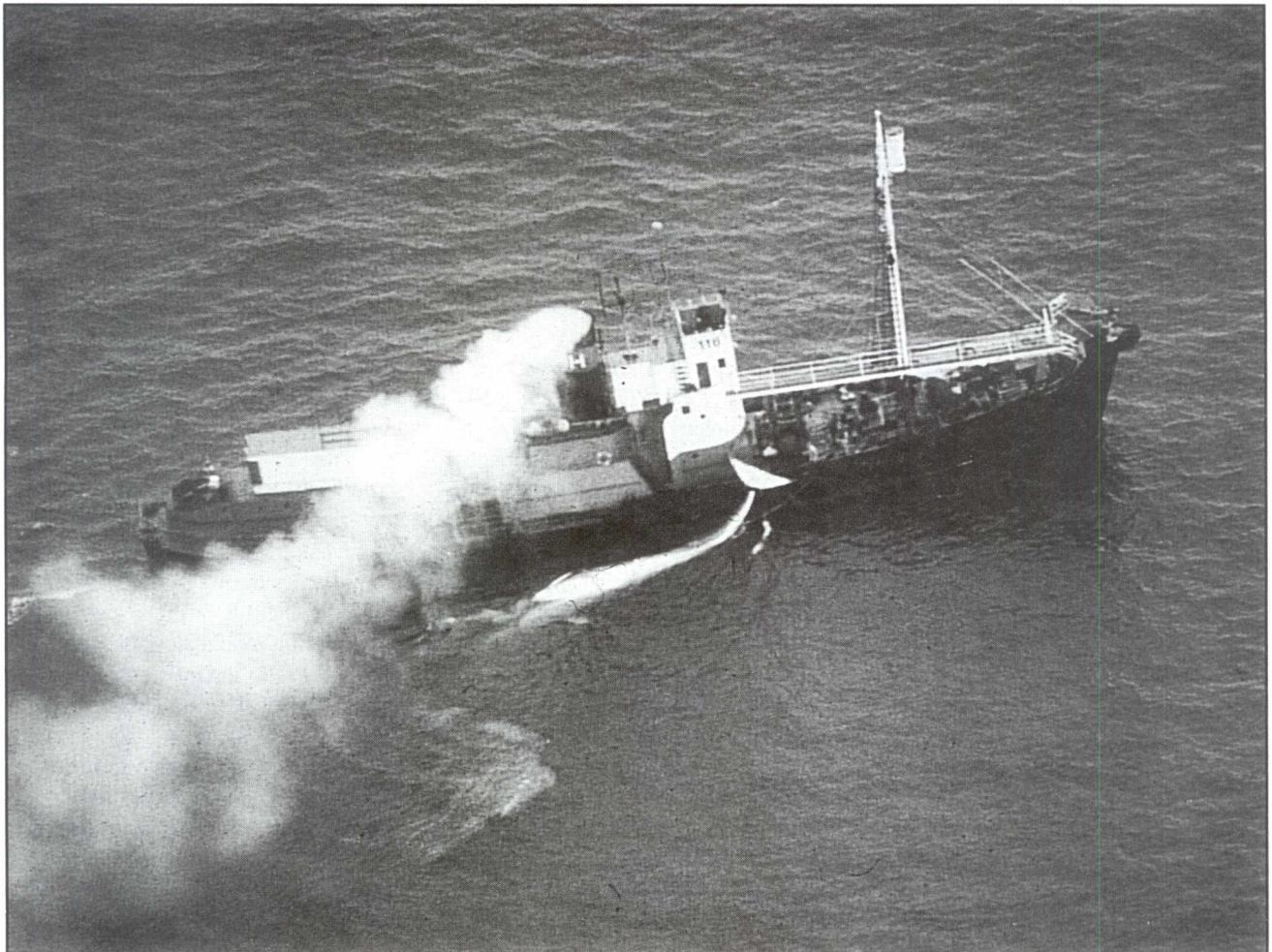
³ Those in favor were Antigua, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, India, Ireland, Mexico, Monaco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Japan voted no and Norway withdrew, while the People’s Republic of China, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Saint Vincent, the Solomon Islands and South Korea abstained.

Calderón / Reforma



turns out that the orca is a playful, sociable animal which humans have succeeded in taming, teaching it tricks for exhibition at amusement parks. The humpback whale has a singular method for obtaining food by means of its "bubble net," a way of trapping fish in the turbulence caused by blowing air into the water.

Many whale species make sounds which experts interpret as individual messages having to do with sexual activities, location and identity. The blue whale, for example, makes deep, sad sounds, the tones of which gradually rise, forming highly complex series which have been described as "the most powerful expression of feeling known among whales or any other living being."



Boat dragging its catch.



Whales in the Canadian Arctic.

The dwarf whale produces bursts of low-frequency sounds peculiarly known as “deaf train noises,” while the grey whale makes a series of clicks to communicate with its offspring, with which it carries on long “conversations.”

Scientists have grouped the orcas living in the Pacific near Vancouver, Canada, into several clans, on the basis of their vocalizations. Each repertoire is common to members of a given clan, indicating as well that each clan descends from a different long-standing group, which disintegrated upon reaching higher numbers.⁵

The first whalers

Throughout human history, on all the world's coasts, man has found ways to hunt whales. In Norway 4,000-year-old stones with drawings of whales have been found, while in Alaska whale-bone receptacles have been

discovered that date from 3,500 years ago. For modern man, the obstacles presented by whales' gigantic size have been overcome thanks to the use of sophisticated machinery.

Whales are presently engaged in a struggle with man that is much more unequal than the battles they had to engage in against the first whalers. The first whale hunters were few in number and their technique was but little developed. They could only catch species which came near the coasts, traveling in small seal-skin kayaks or cedarwood canoes measuring no more than 30 feet in length, and using wooden harpoons outfitted with conch blades or tips coated with poisons made from plants.

The steam-powered boats and mechanical harpoons of the 19th century were the first signs of the danger threatening whales' existence. Modern times produced cruel techniques such as the “exploding harpoons” which were used to catch

more than two million whales from 1929 to 1979.

When an exploding harpoon enters a whale's body, its teeth open and a small vial of sulfuric acid breaks, igniting the charge. The result is an explosion which—unless it occurs directly in the brain—does not cause the whale to die immediately. Instead the animal feels intense pain, as it seeks to swim as deep as possible. In this situation neither the means nor the ends are justified.

In 1947 a law was promulgated for protection of the grey whale, as a result of which the population of this species recovered substantially. Another law, approved in 1972, prohibited the capture and importation to the United States of marine mammals as well as any food made from them.

In 1987 the International Whaling Commission promulgated the fifth Regulatory Charter for Whale Trading. Unfortunately this charter

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 23, 35.



Mercedes Quinamilla R.

Save the whales!

was never completely effective, since a large number of special permits were authorized for supposedly “scientific purposes”; this allowed for the continued sale, under scientific guise, of the flesh of such species as sperm whales and finbacks.

Protection at hand

The agreement reached in Puerto Vallarta by the IWC’s member countries, together with ecological groups, laid the bases for creating the whale sanctuary along coasts where several species travel during their migratory life. Rather than surveillance by the Coast Guard or special patrols, the sanctuary was established by means of restrictions and concessions specific to each country.

Thus certain indigenous populations were authorized to carry out limited whaling. The Eskimos of

Alaska were assigned a quota of 204 whales or less over the next four years. The indigenous groups of western Greenland may catch 19 finbacks and 165 Minke whales, while those in the east are assigned 12 Minke whales per year over the next three years. Two whales per year are allotted to the inhabitants of Saint Vincent and Grenada.

For scientific purposes Japan was assigned a quota of 300 Minke whales, a figure which could increase or decrease by 10 percent. Japan also requested an extraordinary quota of 100 whales, but this number was not agreed on. Japan will take the first quota from the Antarctic and seeks to catch the second in the northern Pacific. Norway was allowed a quota of 127 Minke whales in order to conclude a research project begun this year.

Mexico received the IWC’s acknowledgment for its efforts to protect the “sea cow,” which at one point was endangered and now has a sanctuary off the coast of Baja California.

Unfortunately the IWC continues to favor Japan, since the number of whales it was assigned at the 45th convention, held in Tokyo in 1993, remained unchanged at 300 a year.⁶

The fulfillment of the project put forward at the most recent IWC convention depends largely on member countries’ good will and their realization that saving marine animals should be a higher priority than servicing restaurants and cosmetic industries ❧

Mónica Ching
Assistant Editor.

⁶ *Britannica Book of the Year, Events of 1993. Environment: Wildlife Conservation*, p. 169.

The garbage crisis: technological or cultural?

*Pamela Severini **

In any discussion of environmental problems, there is a strong tendency to believe they have a physical origin and that solutions should therefore be achieved through application of so-called green technology. This is true to a certain extent, since the main ways refuse pollutes the environment are physical: through the air, underground migration of gases, and surface and underground hydrographic networks.

However, the problem of solid waste has another, no less important side to it, of a strictly social, political and economic nature. This points towards a new, much broader and more global view of the problem, as part of the challenge of urban management in the world's largest cities.

In our day cities have become enormous generators of garbage, their inhabitants being the main producers. Global estimates indicate that fifty per cent of the total refuse generated in a city (including domestic, industrial, commercial and hospital waste) is of residential origin. From his home, each citizen helps to increase the huge mass of garbage that municipal authorities no longer know where or how to dispose of.

At the same time, urban culture has also created a culture of waste: we all want to rid ourselves as quickly as

possible of the detritus we have generated, without worrying too much about what happens once the refuse collector's van has taken away our portion of garbage.

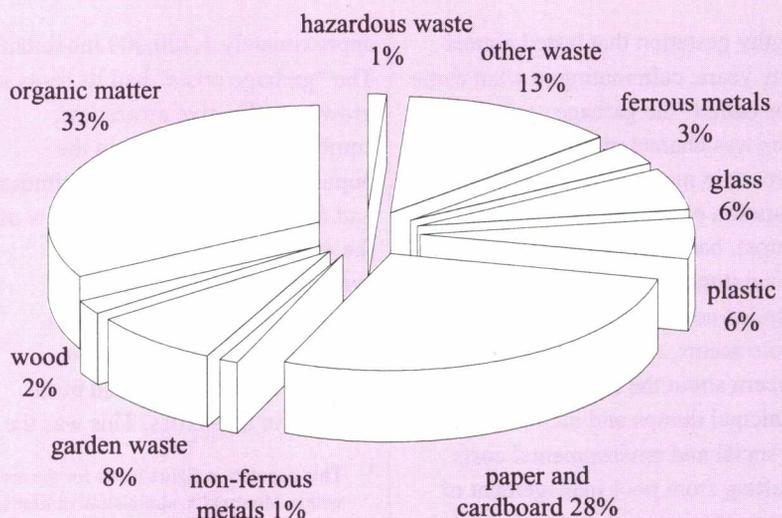
This reflection comes at a time when the world is moving towards an urban reality (in 1940, one out of every 100 inhabitants lived in cities of over a million people; by 1980, this ratio had risen to one in ten). These figures reveal the scope of the challenge facing big cities, showing the need—now more than ever—for a form of urban planning that will

integrate environmental, social and economic dimensions.

This article will deal with the urban management policy—particularly household waste management—implemented in Montreal in 1989, following decades when waste disposal was handled anarchically, with no concern for health risks or the vast amount of resources that, as a result of this attitude, were converted into ashes or lost forever underground.

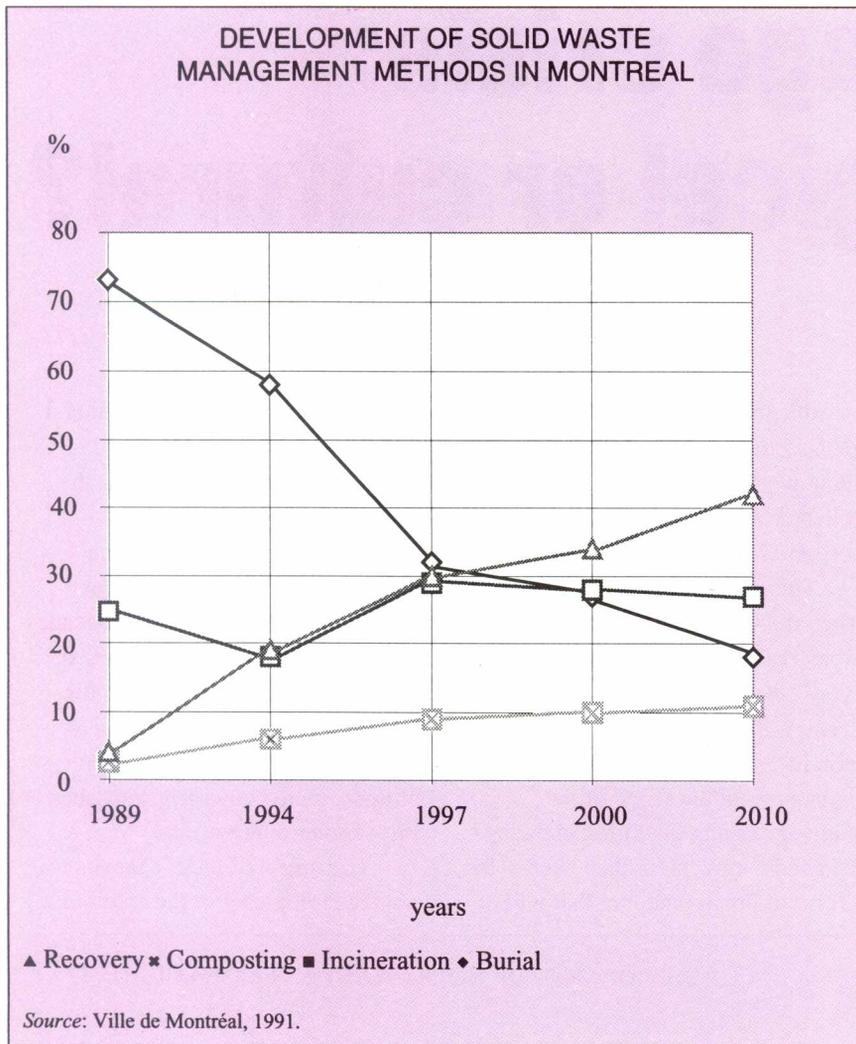
The origin of these changes was not technological but the result of a

CLASSIFICATION OF SOLID WASTE IN MONTREAL



Source: Léonard, Lèveillé et al., 1989.

* Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada. Center for Research on North America, CISAN.



time when newly-formed ecological movements denounced the squandering of natural resources in the name of the quality of life. Towards the end of the decade, the population had become aware of the environmental impact of waste management practices, especially incinerators, whose bad reputation was beginning to spread.

By the seventies, the groups had consolidated and were beginning to make their environmental concerns known, giving speeches on environmental protection and against the waste of energy and resources. This was the period when waste management gained recognition as an activity that could have an impact on the quality of the environment.

The seventies were no doubt the decade of environmental concern, in which three internationally important events were to occur: the United Nations Conference on the Environment in 1972, followed by the Club of Rome's publication of *The Limits of Growth* and the World Conference for the Environment in 1976.

During the eighties, environmental groups oriented towards meeting local challenges, leaving aside more global problems. Citizens were concerned about environmental accidents occurring in their vicinity and the repercussions on their health.

In order to express this anxiety, "syndromes" were developed, such as PDMC — "*pas dans ma cour*," known in English as NIMBY ("not in my backyard"); GOOMBY ("get out of my backyard"), and even LULU ("locally undesirable land use"). All these are the result of the population's increasing awareness, which led it to question all projects for installing new facilities in the local environment. As far as refuse dumps were concerned, the syndrome led to the population's

lengthy gestation that lasted almost thirty years, culminating in what came to be called "the garbage crisis." This crisis was characterized by the increase in management costs, saturation of landfill sites (refuse dumps), bad publicity surrounding incinerators, legislation that included new environmental requirements, the population's concern about the harmful effects of municipal dumps and incinerators, and the social and environmental costs resulting from poor management of treatment systems.

The eighties saw the development of an environmental revolution in Montreal, a city of

approximately 1,200,000 inhabitants.¹ The "garbage crisis" had its roots in a growing collective awareness, combined with changes in the population's behavior and attitudes, and demanded an overall review of the way previous management systems had been operated.

However, while "the green phenomenon" exploded in the eighties, the first alarm had been sounded in the sixties. This was the

¹ This population figure holds for the area within Montreal's administrative limits. This figure rises to 3,127,242 if one takes into account the entire "Montreal Urban Community," made up of Montreal and all adjacent municipalities (Statistique Canada, 1991).

virtual refusal to accept this type of installation in their vicinity.

Political strategies aimed at environmental protection sought to adapt to circumstances. As a result, the United Nations Brundtland Commission was formed and commissioned to produce a report on the world's environmental situation which would put forward realistic proposals for a solution.

Following the publication in 1987 of the *Our Common Future* report, the concept of "durable," "sustainable" or "sustained" development began to be heard with increasing frequency. This is an attempt to explain the need for a type of development that will satisfy the needs of the present, without compromising future generations' capacity to satisfy their own needs.

This approach marked the starting point for many policies concerning waste management, traditionally based on landfilling—a method that is no longer viable either environmentally or socially.

The new trend has therefore been to adopt the "4R-V" policy, which attempts to *reduce* the astronomical amounts of waste produced, *reuse* products by employing them for different purposes and *recover* all materials that can be used for recycling or to produce compost.

Finally, and only when materials cannot be recycled, they should be used for "energy valuing," a process whereby waste products are converted into sources of calorific or electrical energy through incineration, while refuse that is not suitable for any other form of treatment should be *eliminated* through sanitary landfilling.

As a result of this Integrated Waste Management Policy, implemented in Montreal, refuse went from being something worthless to a secondary resource which could be

made valuable through recycling and energy production.

In short, Montreal's new waste management model was created because of the environmental demands of the citizenry and grass-roots ecology movements. The influence they exerted on political programs during the so-called "garbage crisis" is undeniable. The new environmental management strategy arose in response to public pressure and, above all, as a means of achieving political consensus. It was not an easy task; environmentalists had to fight for thirty years to achieve this significant change, that was to be judged a success by public opinion.

The Montreal government also realized that the quality of urban services has an almost immediate effect on the health and productivity of people and companies, and therefore an enormous impact on national macroeconomic performance.

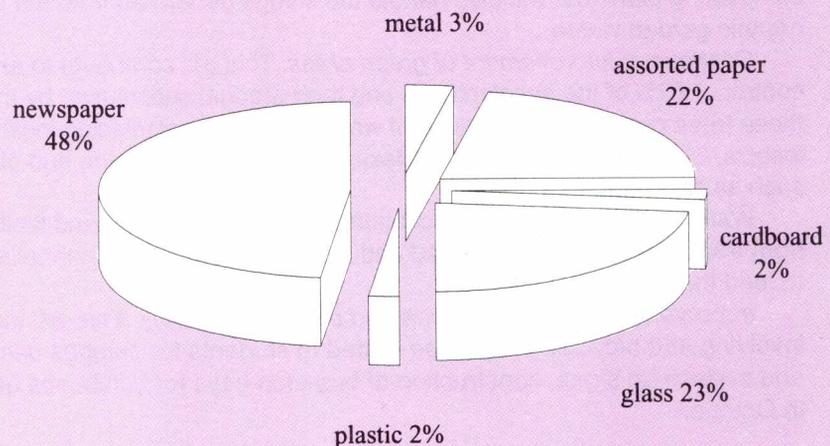
The success of the new plan was also due to the combination of a province-oriented strategy and the handing over of power to the

municipality, on the assumption that only a strong local government can guarantee the urban forms and social priorities required while ensuring that local environmental conditions are reflected in urban development plans.

Waste management is the environmental issue of the moment. It poses questions not only about the production and consumption practices of the past and present, but the political, economic and social priorities of governments and public officials.

This model highlights—particularly for those developing countries that have not faced up to the fact that uncontrolled waste endangers the lives and health of millions of people—the need for social forces to begin exercising their power to demand that governments enforce measures in keeping with the scope of the problem. Education is a key element in the success of these aims, and environmental education the main force for preventing the swift and apparently irreversible development of environmental processes from endangering the lives, and quality of life, of present and future generations \times

ESTIMATE OF VOLUME OF SOLID WASTE RECOVERED FOR RECYCLING IN MONTREAL



Source: École des commerciales et Étude économique conseil (estimates for 1994).



Angela Torrejón / Imagenlatina.

UNAM has undertaken a series of measures to contribute to cleaning up the Valley of Mexico.

Environmental measures implemented at UNAM

The National University of Mexico began to implement part of its Ecological Improvement program in April, as a means of bettering the quality of life for university students. This program, the result of a year's planning, aims to recover the campus' green areas, recycle sewage water, save energy, and improve sanitary and road services. A description of the different phases is given below:

Energy saving and end-use efficiency. Energy consumption will be reduced 60% through the use of time switches and artificial lighting systems.

Solid waste management. Deposit stations will be set up for waste separation, collection, selection and transportation. Biodegradable waste will be converted into fertilizer for the green areas by a composting plant that will also handle the sludge generated from the treatment of sewage water and organic garden waste.

Continuous improvement of green areas. This will contribute to environmental recovery through the control of 75% of the eucalyptuses and their gradual substitution by more appropriate species, since these trees consume 130 gallons of water per month, displacing local species and killing 90% of the insects. They will be replaced by Mexican ash, jacaranda, pine and plants that thrive on stony ground, such as caucaseas.

Water management. Water consumption will be reduced and leakages avoided, while the surplus from treated waters will be filtered and stored and rainwater channelled into crevices and absorption wells to feed the subsoil.

Improvement of road services and pedestrian safety. This will include the BICI-UNAM program, involving 450 bicycles that will be rented to students for campus use, an increase in the number of road and pedestrian signs, construction of bus-stop bays for minibuses and the launching of an electric car in October.

Raquel Villanueva
Staff Writer.



AEROPUERTOS

The new terminal at Mexico City's Benito Juárez International Airport was recently inaugurated, making it possible to serve six million more travelers a year.

In addition, 11 platforms for jet planes have been constructed—each with its own waiting room—as well as a third footbridge, a business center, conference rooms with secretarial services and a five-star hotel.

In the city of Guadalajara, Jalisco, work has begun on expanding the Miguel Hidalgo Airport, allowing it to serve 7 million passengers a year, which will make it the second most important site in Mexico's national airport system.

In fact and in deed, we are working to provide Mexicans with better communications and transport.

Mauricio Molina and *Tiempo lunar*

Victor Weinstock *

This article is part of a series of talks with young Mexican artists related to three words I am obsessed with: *temptation*, as a phenomenon of excited curiosity that drives the human being far away from the rest of nature; *eroticism*, as an act of will that defies the reproductive instinct; and *cannibalism*, as the tragic culmination of our impulse to know everything.

Mauricio Molina was born in Mexico City in 1959. In 1987, he published a book of historical research, *Crónica de Texas* (Texas Chronicle). While on a scholarship from the National Council of Culture and the Arts, he finished his first novel, *Tiempo lunar* (Lunar Time), which was awarded the José Rubén Romero National Novel Prize. Molina is currently at work on a second novel on Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, a book of short stories which will include "Mantis religiosa" (Praying Mantis), which was made into a film, and two collections of essays which have been published in several magazines and literary supplements. These include *El espejo de Hipólito* (The Mirror of Hippolytus), which he published in *Voices of Mexico* 23.

Temptation

For Mauricio Molina, temptation is the expression of what one does not have; the revelation that there is a lack, a

hunger, a hidden desire. Thus one can say that the novelist writes because he is tempted by the search for hidden knowledge. In *Tiempo lunar*, Molina creates a Mexico City with numerous appearances, a megalopolis similar to the one we now think we know, but whose reality has been exaggerated. The floods which inevitably appear during the rainy season now keep half the city permanently submerged.

The individual's isolation among urban multitudes is accentuated when the latter disappear, hide and are revealed to be the wandering dead. We discover a forgetful society, a Mexico that forgets its history, when Andrés—the protagonist—has a meeting with a librarian who seems more like the guardian of a labyrinthine cemetery of debilitated if not totally annihilated knowledge.

In the concrete jungle that we live in, the loss of time and objects has become an everyday event. These disappearances emerge in Molina's prose when we venture into the fascinating and confusing room of lost objects. Mexico City, a place in the navel of the moon, is immersed in an endless eclipse, a "state of exception." Mauricio Molina is a chimerical utopian, a compulsive exaggerator who isolates and defies his own otherness, as personified by Andrés, so as to reveal the enigmatic.

"The character is the same as the narrator," says Molina. "There's an examination of the feminine, a search

for the other. Temptation involves a mystical and sacred idea of woman. Our religiosity has traditionally obliged heroes to seek virility. Conversely, the great search in *Tiempo lunar* is for the female mystery, hidden, forbidden and subterranean. Milena's secret, her relation with the tides, the moon and the entire cosmos, is something that Andrés cannot understand."

Tiempo lunar concerns the temptation of moving towards the other to understand and assimilate him or her. Man examines the female mystery, while woman delights in the male universe. Molina does not propose a tranquil solution but rather an interminable struggle that derives from opposition itself. There is no primitive androgyne, in the Platonic style, but an original, fluctuating and insoluble opposition. In *Tiempo lunar*, we are assailed by the feminine secret sought by medieval poets and symbolists such as Baudelaire. The question that the narrative develops and solves is the same as the one posed by these poets and symbolists: "Why do I desire you?"

"Woman holds a secret that makes it impossible to know her. Milena is perhaps the manifestation of that secret, one which does not go beyond her body," says Molina. In fact, Milena's secret impregnates the entire novel. In the scenes where she does not appear, "femininity is manifested in the most ominous way."

* Writer and theater director.

The feminine is a morgue of ancestral knowledge: the library. The feminine is a forbidden zone that we cannot fully know because it cannot be summed up; it is a room of lost objects. The feminine is expressed and vanishes senseless, without the need to mean anything, such as the mole¹ on Milena's thigh. The feminine submerges and swallows the whole city. We read, in one chapter of *Tiempo lunar*:

Groups of whores in the streets, in the folds of the avenues, on the edges of the parks, emerging from the dark, making their cigarettes glow from afar: the disdainful signals of urban fireflies. You go past slowly, peering through the windscreen spattered with raindrops and dust, at the tight clothes, the high heels sharp as fangs, the empty gaze behind impenetrable make-up. You observe the cautious and feline customs of their ghostly presence that is both attractive and awful.

This is death, or the dead woman, you think as you watch one draw nearer through the cold early morning. It is not a woman but rather a mere appearance, a weightless presence with no more density than puddles' electric mirages.

Eroticism

"Eroticism is the knowledge of death; going towards death and coming back with that secret. Wandering death appears in *Tiempo lunar* as the opposite of desire, and its complement. Eroticism is a representation, not an instinct. Unlike other living beings, humans are

obliged to establish representations of sexuality and male-female duality. Eroticism is poetics; sexuality is a language apart from words.

"To penetrate the mystery of eroticism, we have to pretend we are other people. When Milena and Andrés make love, there is a principle of representation; she puts on her make-up and he observes her like a work of art. Eroticism is a ritual. Sexuality is simply reproduction, while eroticism is a ritual, occurring in the here and now, with no future. Andrés' fear reveals the deep rituality of the erotic act, imbued with our desire to become archetypes and play the cosmic game of desire."

—So the erotic rite would be an invocation to make desire appear.

—Yes. And to make the dark side of men and women appear.

—Isn't desire the dark side?

—To a certain extent it is. Desire is the dark side of banal, everyday actions. Getting back to the idea of the moon... I tried to show people's hidden face. *Tiempo lunar* is a thriller, which can be read as a detective novel. But behind this there is an erotic search. Andrés' true face is not the one that goes in search of Ismael, but the one that seeks woman, the moon and what is forbidden to the senses. From this point of view, *Tiempo lunar* is a mystical novel. The protagonist searches for what is on the other side of appearances. I'm not sure whether I achieved this, but it is in fact a mythical search.

—Mythical or mystical?

—Both. Mythical because there is a search for archetypes, and the temptation to examine the feminine. Mystical because Andrés intuitively perceives that beneath human activities there are hidden energies and forces at play, of which we are an expression. The novel can be seen as a

coded story on the search for the sacred based on a concrete event—a futuristic Mexico City, demolished and full of strange events. Within eroticism there is a religious environment at play. Beyond what happens between a man and a woman, there are forces that propel us to closeness. Perhaps Milena and Andrés do not consciously know what they are doing, but they are pursuing the knowledge of desire. I would not like the novel to be thought of as a platonic search for opposites. Instead, I would like to hold onto the idea that there is a constant challenge, and that opposites never fuse. They are fatefully separated while seeking moments of union—violent moments or moments of intense erotic revelation. Plato's idea is irrelevant because the point is to present continuous opposition. There is no primitive united being, only two beings in continuous struggle.

—Devouring each other.

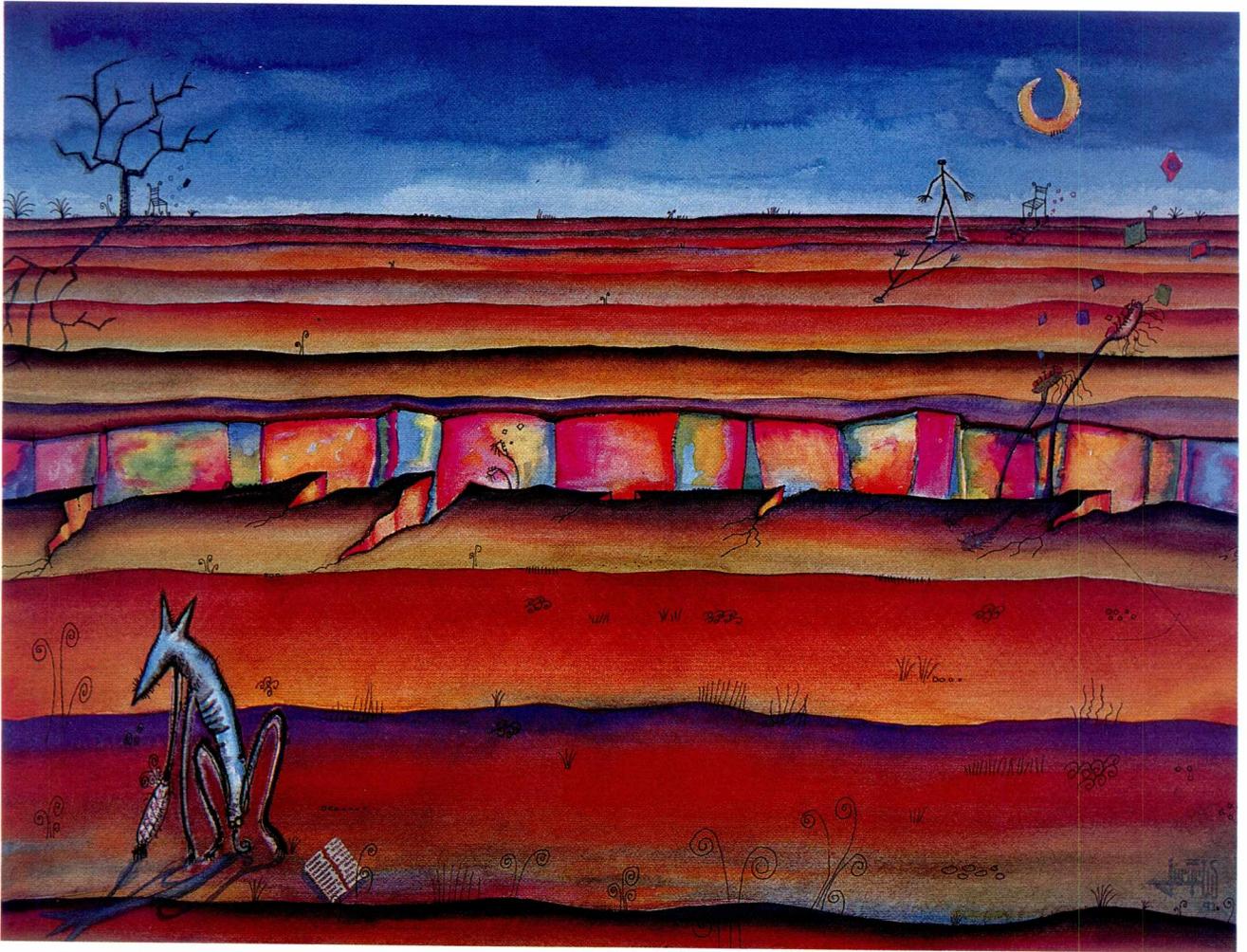
—Yes, exactly. That's the key word. Milena tries to get Andrés to enter this parallel universe where living beings disappear. The beings that disappear in *Tiempo lunar* are male. The women are always present.

—Like the city.

—Another female entity. Or like the water that swallows drowning men. From a symbolic point of view, what man swallows is that which is feminine: water, Milena, the city, the moon. Man tries to understand this, and understanding is another means of devouring. To understand the other is to devour and assimilate him. However, what is clear is that the other devours us, and it is in this exotic passion of journeying towards the other that the intensity of the story is found.

In the early morning, fever rises, ghosts appear and the awareness of

¹ The Spanish word for mole is *lunar*, which also means "lunar" (of or pertaining to the moon). (Editor's note.)



Jorge Santana, *Rupture*, watercolor and ink on paper, 1992.

time and last vestiges of reality are erased. Fever, that cold fire coursing through your veins, unsustainable fever, a flame that beats the body's unreal parts, a wave that consumes thought. Fever and its shadowy images, the specter of a burning woman pressed against one's body at night, a burning mare emerging from darkness. A madwoman in heat. A nightmare that spits forth curses.

Cannibalism

"The cannibal assimilates the other in order to understand him. Brazilian artists understood cannibalism from an interesting point of view; I'm thinking about the avant-garde: Drummond de Andrade, for example. They suggest

that Latin American culture is anthropophagous. America devours Europe and Asia. We devour those who try to conquer and oppose us. With regard to the erotic, this would be its final expression, its greatest crystallization, devouring the other in order to assimilate and understand it.

"What remains afterwards is the restoration of temptation. The only thing discovered by the cannibal that manages to devour, assimilate and comprehend the other is the temptation to go in search of more, in order to devour them. What remains after this terrible act of assimilation is more hunger. The act of cannibalism is a tragic act par excellence; you violate biological, human and divine

laws and yet you still have the desire to go on devouring. The cannibal is someone who is absolutely beyond the law. This is a hidden projection present in several mundane acts. True lovers are those who aim to devour each other—and given the impossibility of this, each one searches for himself within the other."

—According to Eric Bentley in *The Life of Drama*, the theater can be described in this phrase: A personifies B, while C looks at him. If, as you say, eroticism is an act of representation, at least in *Tiempo lunar*, could you define your terms?

—Let us say, arbitrarily, that A = Andrés and B = Milena. A attempts to personify B.

—So Milena is the manifestation of Andrés' desire?

—To a degree, although she is not just a manifestation of this but a projection, a ghost. Andrés faces the most terrible thing of all: the fulfillment of all his desires. The worst thing about desire is that it can be fulfilled.

—Who or what is C?

—Death, always present in the quest to assimilate the other and project him as a ghost of desire. This is a medieval idea; just think of the *dances macabres* or making love with death. As a result of my desire, I find myself facing death. The satisfaction of desire leads us to the knowledge of death. We say that orgasm is *la petite mort*. When a person loves another, he actually wants to die.

—Could we conclude that in *Tiempo lunar* life personifies love, while death looks at him?

—Perhaps, although those words are rather too precise for me. Death, which always intervenes, with its sardonic expression, seems to be telling them that they will not be able to assimilate each other, because the only means of assimilation is death. Death also represents the last great question. What would happen if a dead person came back to life? Gilgamesh wonders, as he looks at Enkidu's dead body, whether she will ever move again. Odysseus, following the rape of Circe, discovered the entrance to the land of the dead. In all our fatal erotic games, there is a corpse that mocks us.

Tiempo lunar cannot be reduced to a mere romantic science-fiction novel. The drama of Andrés and Milena is extrapolated to the whole of nature, involving everything that is alive and struggling against what is dead. All the novel's symbols are combined in the tiger salamander

that Milena feeds, in her apartment. The tiger salamander is an animal that buries itself in the mud and feigns death, although it has every power to live. What is striking is the tiger salamander's ability to remain still. The idea of metamorphosis: a living thing can represent death. What is dead throbs and walks, while the live characters in a novel are really dead.

"There is a wish to represent death beyond appearances," explains Molina. "The obsession with death is also present in nature, as is the desire for representation. The dead and the living devour each other. Short lives try to devour the immense silence of the cosmos."

—This creature called *Tiempo lunar*, a relative of the tiger salamander, is a rite of initiation. Anthropology has marked out and defined three stages for this type of rite, hasn't it? Let's see. 1) *Separation* is clear: Andrés leaves the city to embark on a journey, like Telemachus, in search of the feminine. 2) The *liminal stage*: the search, the state of exception, the meaning of a lunar eclipse and the tiger salamander. 3) The *incorporation*: the novel remains apparently unfinished when the protagonist emerges from the last point of the map (or the first, for Ismael, who in fact preceded him). We intuitively know what he is moving away from, as we ourselves move away from everyday events through reading. We are living in a liminal state, but we don't know where or how the hero becomes involved, as he gets out of the subway at Observatorio.

The author continues: —In a modern universe where God has died and all philosophical basis for

explaining the emergence of life has disappeared, the only way of continuing to establish rituals is by asking questions, not by providing answers. In the ancient world, heroes came back with answers because the world was explained and ordered by a mystical, theological entity.

From James Joyce, Proust and Nietzsche's narratives onwards, the hero of a story embarks on a challenge with the unknown and returns with other questions.

—And more hunger.

—Once God had disappeared, together with all theological explanations about human beings, life, and the world, the hero came back with questions. This is the meaning of open works in post-modern times. We take up the quests from before modernity, and no longer return with complete answers. I am specifically referring to the opening up of contemporary art; it proposes no answers, just good questions. The reader should formulate his own interpretation. A good work of contemporary art, more than a piece of research into a specific social, historical or religious problem is, above all, a device for asking questions. It is not possible to establish answers in a world ruled by quantum physics, the theory of relativity and all the other things that the sciences have so kindly and terribly placed at our disposal. Works by Beckett, Calvin and Cortázar are great questions about mystery. Tarkovsky's movies simply ask what would happen if the world were not the way we see it. It would be a crime to shut the door on the range of possible interpretations.

—Because there are no conclusive answers.

—Exactly. In a world ruled by quantum mechanics, where the observer modifies what has been observed....

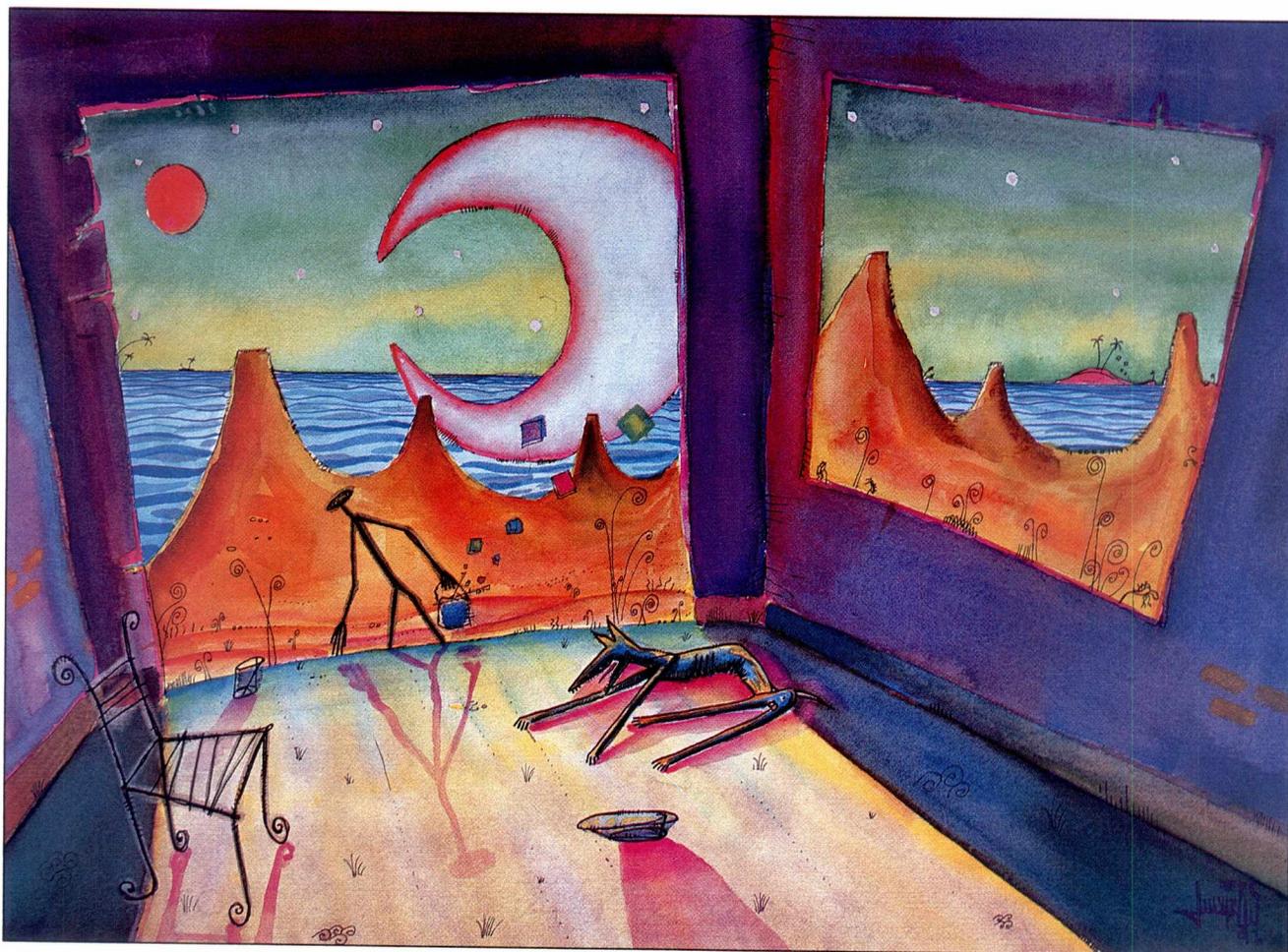
—So your characters are quantum particles that appear and disappear, depending on how the observer sees them.

—That is a marvelous interpretation of what is at the core of novel's concerns. *Tiempo lunar* is governed by the German physicist Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, and there are also certain ideas on the physics of chaos. If we cannot know the exact location of a particle at the microscopic level, the same can happen at the macroscopic level. There is nothing to say it can't be so.

I can say that a dead person gets up and walks through the street, or that a woman has a mole that appears and disappears. Until the early 20th century, a work of art was an answer to a series of questions, because reality was something that had to be explained. Nowadays, the challenge for the artist committed to the situation both of human knowledge and of contemporary life is not to explain reality but to discover it. To explain is to kill; interpretation destroys. The creation of ambiguous works, that are being continually opened, has been the basic principle of art from the '50s onwards. Why are we here? Why do I desire a particular woman? Why is woman unknowable? Why am I

hungry for her and she for me? What is mankind's situation with regard to the cosmos? The artist struggles to formulate minimal answers, because all answers produce new questions.

The end of *Tiempo lunar* is anticlimactic. Andrés' cycle of searching comes to a close and it becomes patently obvious that everything has been a representation. From a distant point of view, the reader's questions can be extended. Woman tempts man and captures him for a moment. Man sneaks away and wonders why females can never be captured, despite being seduced or raped (in one chapter of the novel, Andrés rapes Milena). The search never ends, the novel remains



Jorge Santana, Fish Palate, watercolor and ink on paper, 1992.

The mysterious disappearance of Ismael, the photographer of forbidden zones and secret places, introduces Andrés, the novel's solitary and melancholy hero, to a strange universe of unusual relations and correspondences. The maps, notes and photographs left by Ismael plunge Andrés into a deluded voyage across a Mexico City of the future, destroyed by the ecological, political and social problems of the present, where natural laws have begun to fail and time has changed. A dead man strolling through the streets, a librarian suffering from forgetfulness and a fascinating woman with an enigmatic mole on her thigh that appears and disappears are some of the secrets that Andrés encounters in his wanderings. At the center of this labyrinthine search is a fossil lake that refuses to vanish from the collective memory of the city, the same imperial city that the Aztecs called The Place in the Navel of the Moon. *Tiempo lunar* combines the techniques and themes of a detective story, tales of fantasy and science fiction, to provide an apocalyptic vision of what the future of the world's largest city could be. As the novel unfolds, it attempts to re-establish the ancient mythical relation between Mexico City and the moon, at the same time as it explores the symbolic possibilities of lunar aspects in their relation to the feminine.

Mauricio Molina

unfinished. Beneath feminine appearances, there is a hidden secret that can never be revealed.

Molina's characters are creatures in the laboratory of his literature. To us, they represent a futile little game; Milena's mole appears and disappears capriciously. Andrés' obsession grows with the lunar tides and might even disappear if he managed to understand these tides. The errant corpse injects life into the game. The librarian, the morgue's guardian, is afraid of forgetting, hates to forget and is immersed in the loss of his past.

Molina goes on to say:

—The lack of historical awareness is devouring us. The tree of knowledge has been chopped down. Man has become divorced from the earth and the past, and is in continual orbit, remote from nature.

We have lost the horizon of nature. Modern cities pulsate, removed from the organic quality of ancient cultures. The principle of ritual that man's continual defiance of nature provided has vanished. It seems that

nature has ceased to exist and only occurs as a secret. We live surrounded by carpets, and dead wood.

Nature takes us by surprise, catastrophically, with its telluric movements, its holes in the ozone layer, its acquired immuno-deficiency syndromes....

Finally, I wanted to write a coded novel that was somehow related to agnosticism. That is the basis of our world. The universe is malignant, there are forces at play in which we men are not involved. Therefore, we have to break the laws that have been imposed on us by a false demiurge. Basically, there is a revolution against nature that has been imposed on us, a rebellion against instinct which is resolved by means of representation. Eroticism involves rebelling against imposition. Man is a cosmic rebel struggling against the unknown, which he regards as terrible: the movement of comets, the phases of the moon, tides, earthquakes, cataclysms. Human laws governed by natural principles are innocuous if we think that one should

rebel against social, historical and natural impositions. I think, together with Oscar Wilde, that nature imitates art and that we artists generate new forms of behavior.

I shall have to erase the footprints that led me, at an uncertain hour, to places where no one should venture: to a dead street that preserves strange vestiges left by time, to a walled-up room of a ruined building watched over by a dead man, to a muddy alley near the old refinery. They lay hidden, like traps, disobeying the order of the world and things. These places inhabited by shadows, these ghostly constructions full of forgotten objects should never have been discovered: black holes, leading into nothingness. Unlucky the man who finds the way into these places. I saw the remains of those who had gone there, I saw their vehicles rust under unreal constellations, I met the woman who began all this. I know I shall never see her again ❧

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Marcos before the National Democratic Convention

Susana Albarrán Méndez*

The following interview with *subcomandante* Marcos of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) was carried out on July 29 in Aguascalientes, Chiapas, during preparations for the National Democratic Convention. Under the command of *subcomandante* Tacho, around 800 men —both active insurgents and members of Zapatista rearguard “militias”— used axes to cut tree trunks into lamp posts, benches and the platform for the convention. Others built the cabins that would be used to house participants in the gathering. The “ship”¹ looked quite lavish as we looked about excitedly; we had never imagined such an amphitheater stuck into the belly of a hill, made of a large number of tree trunks and loving hearts filled with one hope: to make weapons useless.

This interview was originally conducted in English. We have made as few corrections as possible, in order to conserve the feeling and style of the original. The National Democratic Convention was a gathering of a broad range of opposition forces, convoked by the Zapatistas in an isolated part of Chiapas that they dubbed “Aguascalientes” after the site of the 1917 Constituent Assembly. (Editor’s note.)

¹ Marcos repeatedly compared the convention to a ship navigating stormy seas. (Editor’s note.)

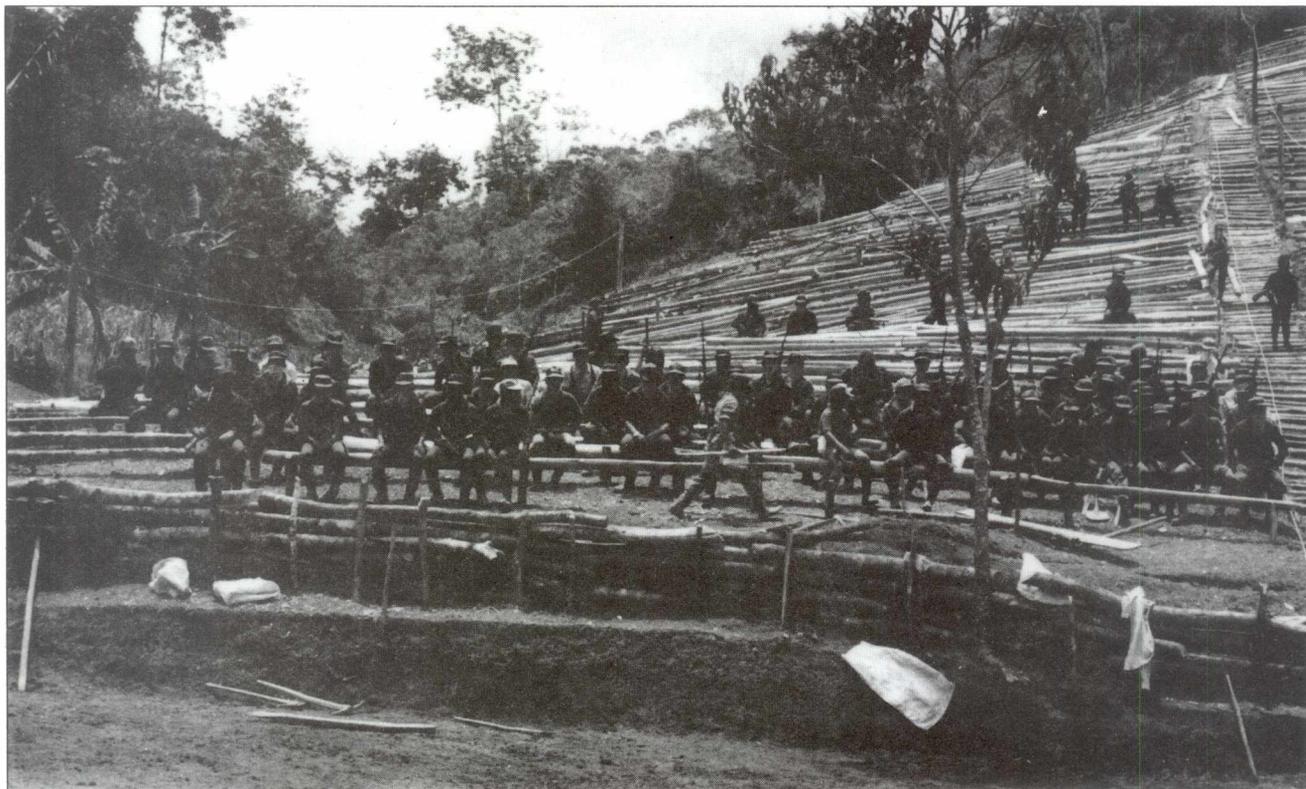
* Producer, Radio UNAM.

- Is Marcos a myth, a politician or just a soldier?
- Neither a myth, nor a politician, nor just a soldier. Some people want to look at Marcos in the way these people look at him. Some people want to raise this part of Marcos that the media

constructed. I mean the poet, the person without a face, without a name; who is he, where does he come from? ...And they want to forget the reasons that made Marcos possible: I mean this country with this injustice, with this dictatorship... and these poor



The National Democratic Convention, to make weapons useless.



“Our specialty is waiting”—subcomandante Marcos.

conditions for the Indian people. Then, the people that look at Marcos like a myth want to forget these conditions, because the Marcos that is a myth is merchandise. You can sell him or sell his image or even the image that they constructed around Marcos.

On the other hand, the man who is behind Marcos began to talk

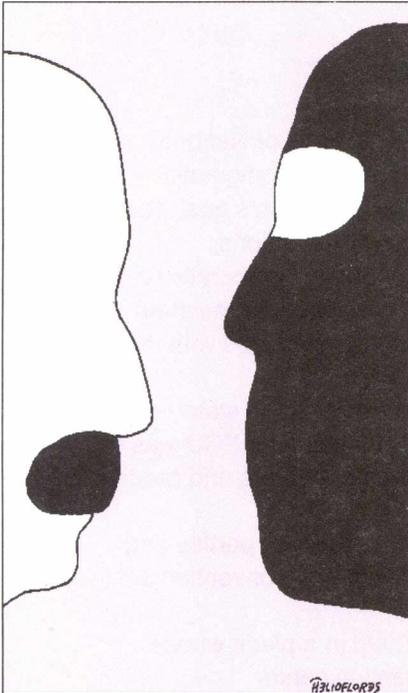
about political ways in Mexico and these words reflect the words that many people in Mexico want to say. When Marcos says something against one politician or part of the political system, a lot of people want to say the same thing. So it looks like Marcos wants to make a political career or he wants to make some arrangements for himself, to get

himself a good position in the government. And the Marcos who is like “just a soldier” is the truer Marcos. The soldier named “Marcos” is more near to reality than the other two. In a real way Marcos is just a soldier, who some accident put in front of the media. Then the media began to construct, around this soldier, the Marcos myth or



The Zapatista look on Seventh Avenue

The August issue of *GQ* (the magazine for the modern man) notes that the bandannas used by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation have ceased to be an exclusively Mexican symbol. “You’ve doubtless heard that much of fashion these days gets its inspiration from the street. But given this getup from Jean Paul Gaultier, it seems the jungle provides plenty of influence, too. Specifically, the lushly forested Chiapas state of southern Mexico, where *subcomandante* Marcos and other Zapatista revolutionaries have adopted the disguise,” the magazine reports.



"If change doesn't come, we will begin to fight again"—subcomandante Marcos. The change he hoped for did not occur. So what's next?

the politician Marcos, and even the poet Marcos.

- Why Marcos and not another name?
- Marcos was the name of a man who died more than ten years ago. He was a person that taught me a lot of things and died fighting the enemy: the government. Then he was killed and I took his name and put it over my name so he would not die yet.
- You've been living in the mountains for ten years and have learned a lot of things in that time, but what is the real meaning of these last seven months of war?
- Well, the principal meaning is that maybe it is possible to make another fight without guns. I mean that the door of democracy in this country can be opened, not only with guns but with other, pacific ways, like the ways of civil society. And the meaning of these seven months is that this

change put [forward] one person or group that never appeared before in the history of this nation. In one way, civil society, people without a party, without organization, even without a specific [social] class; and in another way, persons without culture, without education, without a presence in economic or political terms, like the Indian people. So these two elements, these two parts of the nation put themselves in front of the nation and began to act in an important form or way in the destiny of this nation.

- What's the feeling of the Zapatista Army right now, after these seven months?
- We feel more strong, not in military terms, but about our trust—in other elements that are not Zapatistas, I mean, not Zapatistas in organic terms, not part of the Zapatista National Liberation



Now, under the command of the civilian population, the Zapatistas will respond to the decisions of the CND.

The National Democratic Convention

After saying "no" to the government's proposals, the next step for the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) was to call on the civilian population to participate in the National Democratic Convention (CND). Held from August 6th to 9th in the Lacandon Jungle, the convention's goal was to reach agreement among the various forces represented, in light of the August 21 elections.

Fears were expressed that the Convention would come out for the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), especially after a highway accident injured the PRD's gubernatorial candidate for the state of Chiapas, Amado Avendaño Figueroa, who openly supported the CND and sympathizes with the Zapatista movement.

But this speculation was refuted by several of the convention's organizers, who also stated that they sought to provide a forum for Mexico's millions of unorganized people. Nonetheless, the PRD was the only party that sent delegates to the convention. These delegates attended as observers and brought a message to the gathering.

Despite opposition to the event from some quarters -including a number of political parties and business groups which are pressuring the government to disarm the Zapatistas -the convention achieved its objective of uniting the six thousand people invited to participate.

A tremendous organizing job was required for the meeting, which was held in a place whose geographical characteristics made it seem quite unlike a comfortable convention center.

Preparatory work was carried out by five thousand peasants and guerrilla fighters, who worked a total of 15,000 hours in order to construct a "stadium" which was covered by a 1000-square-foot, rubber-lined canvas cloth, as well as 32 dugouts to be used as stoves, latrines, dormitories and so on. Electricity was also installed and a library was even constructed.

In just two months the Zapatistas cleared an entire hillside, leaving it completely razed. They cut 400 tree trunks, each of which was propped up by a pair of strong, V-shaped branches; the hillside was thereby covered with benches made without using a single nail. The total cost was 55,000 new pesos (about 16,500 dollars).

While construction was being completed, hundreds of invitations were being written to reporters, intellectuals, international figures and others —people like South African president Nelson Mandela, Italian writer Rossana Rossanda, Argentine novelist Ernesto Sábato and many others— as well as a statement calling on everyone who shared the Zapatistas' ideas to attend.

According to one of *subcomandante* Marcos' communiqués, those not invited included the ultra-left and partisans of continuing the status quo. The objectives of the CND were: to create a place for the coming together of democratic forces, to define a political program that could be adopted by the winning presidential candidate, and to promote a transitional government which could call a Constituent Assembly which would provide the country with a new legality.

Some of the invited intellectuals decided not to attend. While recognizing and agreeing with the causes of the Zapatista movement, they differed with the violence which the EZLN used in order to gain recognition. This was the case, for example, with Carlos Fuentes and Enrique Krauze. Nevertheless, there were others who did accept: Carlos Monsiváis, Elena Poniatowska, Juan Villoro and Jesusa Rodríguez were among them, traveling more than 20 hours from San Cristóbal de las Casas to the meeting site in the jungle, dubbed Aguascalientes.

The CND succeeded in bringing together more than 60 organizations from all states —including some antagonistic groups such as the State Council of Peasant and Indian Organizations and the Coalition of Citizens' Organizations of the State of Chiapas— with delegates coming from 20 domestic organizations, as well as representatives of Indian and peasant groups, the PRD and members of the University Student Council at the National University of Mexico (*UNAM*).

To reach Aguascalientes, the 6,000 attendees—including 700 journalists representing 400 domestic and international media—travelled more than 120 miles from San Cristóbal de las Casas, in a long caravan of 200 automobiles, over dirt roads flooded by the rain and blocked by various checkpoints. The government of Chiapas lent its support through the Mexican Army, which was deployed along the road.

At 7 p.m. sharp, with a 24-hour delay due to the wait for all participants to arrive, the CND was formally inaugurated. *Subcomandante* Marcos gave the welcoming speech and announced the names of the 100 members of the presidium. This was followed with a speech by *subcomandante* Tacho.

To everyone's surprise, there was a parade of men, women and children, marching awkwardly. They carried sticks as if they were weapons, and few had *huaraches* (traditional sandals) or shoes; their faces were covered by bandannas. After the civilians, there was a military march: 350 masked Zapatistas, displaying the best of their arsenal, uniformed in green and brown, each rifle with a piece of cloth tied to the barrel as a sign of peace.

Many speeches were heard, but those of Marcos and former *UNAM* Rector Pablo González Casanova were the key ones. Some described the discourse at the CND as "the typical disaster of the partisan left which feels the vocation to carry out assemblies, where giving a speech is the most important thing in life."

Some days previously, Marcos had defined the CND as: "A peaceful convention, called by the violent. A convention which insists on legality, called by illegals. A convention of men and women with names and faces, called by unnameable beings whose faces are denied. A paradoxical convention, consistent with our past and future history. A convention which raises banners that already wave in foreign lands and are denied on our own soil, the banners of liberty, democracy and justice."

The gathering produced very important results. The first was to demonstrate that the EZLN is not alone, and that the goals they seek are disseminated throughout the country. The second was the EZLN's turn from war to peace; their desire not to begin armed struggle anew, but rather to find other, peaceful alternatives. Now, under the command of the civilian population, the Zapatistas have decided that "the orders we follow are no longer given by ourselves," and they will respond to the decisions of the CND.

The National Democratic Convention is undoubtedly an unprecedented event in the history of Mexico. It had nothing to do with a conspiracy against the government, nor a witches' coven. Instead it was a rebellious dream in opposition to centuries of injustice.

Mónica Ching
Assistant Editor.

Army, but other elements that made the same efforts for the same flags but without guns. We met these people that also want democracy, liberty and justice. They don't have guns but they have a lot of courage. So we feel more strong. We are not afraid about the government or about its "hard line." We know that line and we're looking with hope at the civil line of civil society.

- What's the feeling of people in the communities? What's in the air inside this territory?
- We are waiting to see if there is a change, in a peaceful way, and if there is not a change, the war will

continue. Our people are very trained in waiting. Our specialty is waiting. We are not desperate, we are not angry about it. We have patience and we will continue waiting for the change; and if [it doesn't come], we will begin to fight again. That is the feeling of the people in our territory.

- What does this theater (Aguascalientes) mean to everyone here?
- For us, it means the hope that our blood from January is enough for change, and the hope that more blood won't be necessary to make this country free. If this theater looks full, not only of people but

full of this feeling of seeing it as a good effort, a peaceful form to make change without more blood, then that is the hope we are looking for with this job. I mean, this theater has the capacity for 8,000 people and our people constructed it in five days!

- What proposals do you think will come out of the convention?
- First, to go to the elections to make a vote against the PRI; second, make a good government program to fight that includes democracy, liberty and justice; the eleven points of struggle of the Zapatista Army, and to make a program of actions for the defense of the people's will ✕

The UN and the world order (1945-1992)

*Jorge Montaña**

The history of the United Nations Organization is the best guide to the deep-going transformations the world has undergone over the past 47 years. Since the end of WWII this forum for international understanding has mirrored the confrontations, chills and thaws between the superpowers.

No other arena or stage better reflected these ups and downs of politics and international relations. For more than four decades the UN was at the center of disputes and, therefore, of the sterile and immoderate rhetoric that characterized the confrontation between East and West. This turbulent past bequeathed the UN a legacy of crises, which were often considered heralds of its demise.

Yet the great plenary hall in the Organization's main building testifies to the incorporation of new countries that won independence as a result of the good offices of the UN, which over the course of 30 years promoted the process of decolonization which has changed the map of the world.

In addition to the hundreds of millions who gained full enjoyment of their rights to sovereignty and self-determination are the millions who over the past two years broke the dikes of authoritarianism and won freedom. Many of the new nations have taken the places befitting them within the General Assembly.

The new world in which we are beginning to live urgently requires the

creation of an order which will replace the obsolete balance of terror and the threat of nuclear conflagration. The checks and balances of the Cold War came apart, leaving in their wake institutions which must be transformed and adapted to new needs.

Among them is the United Nations, which has undertaken tasks essential to guaranteeing international peace and security. The rebirth of the UN Charter's original principles is most clearly shown in the role that the Security Council has begun to play.

For 43 years the Council stagnated. Now, the new international atmosphere has allowed it to carry out concrete, effective actions aimed at establishing peace, through good offices, special missions or silent diplomacy, the mobilization of peace-keeping forces and international cooperation for consolidating peaceful solutions to conflicts.

It is important to note that the advances in conflict resolution have been made possible by the atmosphere of collaboration between the five permanent members of the Security Council. This distinctive trait of the new era, while facilitating and expediting the Council's agreements, also invariably involves the exclusion of the ten non-permanent members whose participation in decisions of world importance is marginal and often merely symbolic.

This lies behind the demand, raised by Mexico and other nations, for democratizing the Council and revitalizing the General Assembly

—the UN's highest body, whose operating mechanisms require substantial changes so it may reflect the realities of the present rather than those of 1945.

This is the reason for the insistence on changing the inequality represented by the five permanent members' right of veto, the resulting disparity in the specific weight of the various Council members, the very category of permanent member, the Europeanization of membership in the Council and the secrecy of its workings. These changes must be carried out in a calm, mature way lest haste impede serious analysis and consideration of the best measures that can be taken.

The starting point should be the positive aspects of the Council's expeditious actions, which have proven effective in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In these areas firm steps have been taken to put an end to long-standing antagonisms, promote national reconciliation and reduce sources of regional and global tension.

In this regard, the balance-sheet of recent years is impressive: independence for Namibia, resolution of conflicts in Central America, a ceasefire and negotiated settlement in the Iran-Iraq war, the end of hostilities in Angola and Ethiopia, the beginning of democratization in Cambodia and recent mediation in Yugoslavia.

While the idea of peace is not difficult to understand, the concept of international security is more complex, posing a veritable mosaic of

* Mexico's Ambassador to the United States.

contradictions. While the nuclear powers have begun to negotiate arms reduction agreements, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction threatens to increase, and in many parts of the world conventional arms continue to accumulate.

Just when apartheid seems to be on its last legs, new expressions of racial tension have come to the fore. Xenophobia, fanatical nationalism, religious fundamentalism, ethnic and linguistic demands are the most worrisome symptoms in the new panorama facing humanity. It is indispensable to create the necessary balances so that fragmentation will not make it more difficult to achieve peace, security and economic well-being for all.

Paradoxically—as palpably shown during the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, held in June 1992—a new risk to stability is posed by the combination of developmental excesses and the shortfalls involved in underdevelopment. Ecological damage, which in many cases is irreversible, threatens life on this planet.

Even more worrisome are the devastating and constant problems of population growth, the crushing burden of debt, barriers to trade, drug trafficking and the growing gap between rich and poor.

Extreme poverty is on the rise; an estimated 1.2 billion people live below basic subsistence levels. In other words, one fifth of humanity lives in a daily situation of prostration, with their basic needs for food, health, education and housing unsatisfied.

Disease, hunger, oppression and desperation are on the rise, translating into 17 million refugees, 20 million displaced persons, migrations within and beyond national borders. These problems are both causes and effects of conflicts which demand constant attention and a higher level of priority on the UN's agenda.

The struggle against poverty is one of the great challenges facing the United Nations. Just as it has proven possible to restore the UN's role as a catalyst for peace and security, it is indispensable to recognize the essential functions it must fulfill in promoting development in the countries of the South.

While the existing structure can be used, it requires changes and modifications allowing for more effective responses. Programs such as those undertaken by UNICEF, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the UN Development Program and the World Food Program can be extremely useful if they are provided with the resources needed for working in the "field"—that is, beyond bureaucratic offices, through Regional Commissions.

The United Nations cannot be a world police agency, nor can its scope be limited to problems of world peace and security. Since 1945, the year WWII came to an end and the UN was founded, approximately 20 million people have died in more than 100 significant conflicts, which have taken place primarily in developing countries. Almost all of these conflicts originated in economic problems, which generated social and political unrest. The fact that at the end of the 20th century 40,000 children die each day illustrates the serious imbalances in this world.

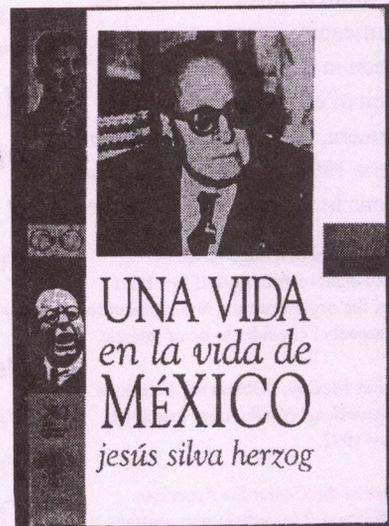
A more just world must base itself on the strengthening of multilateral institutions, particularly the most important of these: the United Nations. The UN's member countries bear the responsibility for making sure that this occurs. They created the United Nations and owe it their loyalty. ✕

SIGLO VEINTIUNO EDITORES

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The OAS in the 1990s

Santiago Pérez Benítez *

The role of the Organization of American States at the end of the Central American conflict, particularly in Nicaragua in 1989, showed the extent of its political visibility at the regional level. OAS Secretary General Baena Soares was part of the International Commission for Support and Verification (CIAV) of the negotiating process. As a result of the agreements signed by the Sandinistas at Costa del Sol in February 1989, he was given the task of monitoring and observing the Nicaraguan electoral process.

With observers in practically every province and district of the country, the OAS carried out this mission until April 25, 1990, when the new president took office. After the elections, the organization played an active role in the process of resettling the *contras* and reintegrating them into national life.

As a result of this experience, the OAS significantly increased its participation in the observation and supervision of elections in Paraguay, Haiti, Surinam, Chile and El Salvador.¹

In June 1990, in order to increase its functions in the electoral field, the

The OAS is involved in a huge range of activities, but I shall restrict myself to a brief description of the organization's involvement in the political aspects I consider to be of interest.

¹ See Jennifer McCoy, "Observing Elections in Latin America," *North-South* magazine, April-May 1992.

* Researcher at the Center for American Studies, Havana. This article was written while the author was carrying out research at the *CISAN, UNAM*.

OAS's General Assembly created the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy, charged with "providing consultation to preserve or strengthen political institutions and electoral procedures" in those countries that request its assistance.²

The issue of representative democracy³

The main problem the organization has dealt with during this period has been guaranteeing the preservation of representative democracy. From a development perspective, the aim—at the request of U.S. administrations (and

² See OAS Resolution AG/RES 1063 (XX-0/90), "Unit for the Promotion of Democracy."

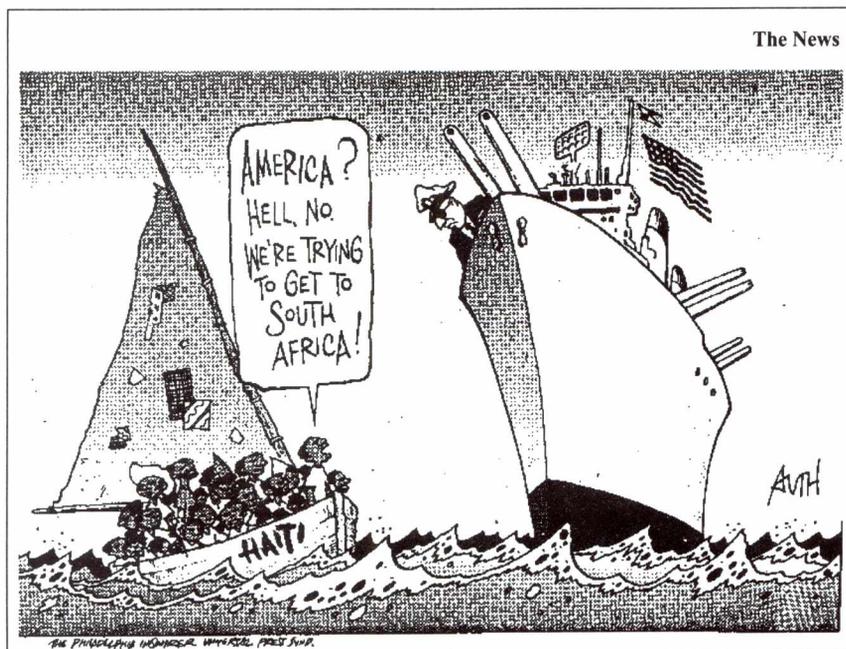
³ For reasons of space, I shall use the concept of "democracy" employed in OAS discussions—today one of the most manipulated terms in political and ideological debate. Its meaning and actual implementation in the Americas are very different from the superficial content it is given in the organization's discussions.

with the support of the majority of Latin American governments)⁴—is to create a supranational mechanism capable of dissuading and, where necessary, resisting changes in the status quo brought about by right-wing coups, or occasionally by left-wing processes.

The first problem in this regard arose with the 1989 Panama crisis. The 21st Foreign Ministers' Consultation Meeting, held on May 17 of that year, agreed to create an OAS mission to take charge of negotiations with the conflicting parties in Panama. The mission's five visits and two sessions of consultation did not produce the desired results. The United States, encouraged by the fall of the Berlin

⁴ Many Latin American politicians seek the creation of an international mechanism through the OAS that would act as a deterrent to possible military coups in their countries. Latin America's democratization process left military structures intact in many cases, and, in the case of Chile, even left the same generals in place.

As a result of the end of the Cold War, multilateral organizations have come to play a more active role in the international system. While the United Nations—regardless of opinions on its performance—has played a key role in major current crises (Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, Yugoslavia and North Korea), the Organization of American States has also shown signs of increasing revitalization.



wall, ignored its commitments to the OAS and solved the problem itself.

The 82nd Airborne Division seized Noriega and took him to Miami, where a U.S. court sentenced him according to American law. The OAS Standing Council deplored the invasion, demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops. Nothing more was done.

In view of the conflicts and scenarios posed by the case of Panama, and on the basis of its experience in observing elections, the OAS set about creating additional advance mechanisms to defend democracy. These mechanisms would on the one hand deter coups and, on the other, prevent a similar U.S. invasion from occurring under the pretext of restoring democracy.

However, the United States' relative increase in strength has influenced the region.⁵ It is worth

⁵ While the U.S. emerged from the Cold War economically weaker in relation to Europe and Japan, it increased its power vis à vis Latin America. This was due not only to its being the sole military and political superpower at the international level, but also to the fact that Latin America emerged from the '80s in a much weaker economic position.

mentioning the atmosphere of pro-democratic euphoria that swept the continent as a result of the wave of changes in the late '80s, the fall of socialism in Eastern Europe and the increased popularity of theories on limited sovereignty and democratic intervention. This was also the time when "neo-liberal," mostly pro-American governments came to power.

The starting point for this new trend was Resolution 1080 and the "Santiago Commitment to Democracy and Renovation of the Interamerican System" approved by the OAS General Assembly at a June 1991 meeting in Santiago, Chile.⁶

The resolution stated that the only system the organization accepts is representative democracy, rejecting the principle of ideological pluralism that, according to the 1985 Protocol, was a cornerstone of the OAS Charter. It also stated that if the democratic process were interrupted in any of the countries,

⁶ See AG/RES Resolution 1080, "Representative Democracy and the Santiago Commitment to Democracy and Renovation of the Interamerican System."

an *ad hoc* meeting of foreign ministers should be held within the following ten days to analyze the situation and take appropriate measures.

As a result of the coups in Haiti in September 1991, Peru in April 1992 and later the attempted coup in Guatemala, the OAS, in addition to implementing the Santiago decisions and showing its collective resolve in the face of these events, decided to strengthen its mechanisms even further.

Specific resolutions on the defense and strengthening of representative democracy were approved at the General Assemblies in Nassau, May 1992 and Managua, June 1993, with additional weight being given to the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy created in 1990.

In Nassau, it was agreed to revise the OAS Charter, a process that ended with the adoption of the Washington Protocol in December 1992. After a long discussion,⁷ with one vote against—Mexico's—the twice-reformulated Article 8 was adopted, stipulating the suspension of any member country whose government is overthrown by force.

After the General Assembly in Nassau in 1992, and increasingly so after the one held in Managua in 1993, there was a proliferation of OAS resolutions and actions on the subject of security, in connection with the preservation of democracy.

For example, as a result of Resolution 1181, adopted in 1992, it was agreed to carry out an in-depth study to determine the institutional links that ought to exist between the Interamerican Defense Council and the OAS. According to several

⁷ For an understanding of countries' different positions vis à vis the Washington Protocol, see "Report on the Special Commission on Charter Reforms," OAS Standing Council, October 16, 1992.

analysts, what is at stake is making the IDC's military apparatus available to the OAS's political structures for use in possible multilateral military operations in the western hemisphere.⁸

In addition, a Special Commission for Hemispheric Security was set up in Nassau to continue regional cooperation work on nuclear proliferation and weapons limitation, among other issues.

This Commission was mandated to continue its work at the General Assembly in Managua; a conference of experts on measures for fostering trust and security in the region was held in Buenos Aires under its auspices in March 1994.

In principle, security is one of the areas in which regional cooperation should be encouraged, particularly since the end of the Cold War. However, it is striking that this subject should be discussed in the context of a continual search for multilateral measures to guarantee the regional status quo. Moreover, it is part of a debate concerning the need to face the challenges of democracy through the use of force.

There have even been concrete proposals to create an inter-American military force to intervene in a range of situations that may arise.⁹ In the case of

Haiti, for example, the Clinton Administration publicly declared its intention to invade the island and was deterred only by its setback in Somalia.

Challenges and perspectives

The process of globalization has tended to generalize problems throughout the Americas. The Organization of American States is increasingly needed to meet the new challenges emerging in the sphere of economic cooperation—critical poverty, the fight against drug-trafficking, environmental problems and migration. In this respect, the OAS's current revival is positive.

However, the fact that the OAS has become virtually the only international organization which stipulates a particular form of government as a membership requirement and is currently creating a mechanism to deal with the collapse of this type of regime may have unwanted consequences.

It may lead to a situation in which representative democracy becomes an intrinsic feature of all the countries in the hemisphere, and the OAS's current measures become effective deterrents to possible changes from the right or left.

However, it is far more likely (as shown by the case of Haiti) that the internal complexities of each of the approximately thirty countries involved will go beyond the scope of the representative democratic pattern. In this case, the OAS's activity could gradually lead towards escalating confrontation, or even a military outcome as in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

At the same time, the OAS could gradually lose credibility if it proves incapable of carrying out its proposals. Perhaps the failure of Dante Caputo's mission in Haiti should be taken as a sign of things to come.

All this could take place, without even considering the fact that, as happened during the Cold War, imposing democracy from outside can lead to extremely counterproductive results, especially if force and foreign, albeit multilateral, intervention is used.

The short period following the Cold War has seen the establishment of precedents that, for good or for ill, have greatly surpassed Latin America's former achievements in its relation with the U.S. inside the OAS. Those achievements mainly involved the principles of non-intervention, sovereignty and ideological pluralism. It will be interesting to see whether the development of events in the '90s shows that these principles, negotiated over the course of many years, prove as obsolete as today's fashionable theories say they are, or whether they are in fact indispensable.

In projecting the outlook for the OAS, it is also worth asking whether the factors that have contributed to its current dynamism will still be present in the medium term. Is the "neo-liberal" model viable, can Latin American opposition forces achieve power by proposing alternative scenarios, and how will the Latin American military continue to react?

One should also pose the question whether the U.S. will continue its role as lone crusader in the fight to restore democracy if genuine processes of change emerge, leading to instability which could only be controlled by dictators or strong, Fujimori-style governments. It should be recalled that the U.S. obsession with democracy, a concept it has generally failed to observe during this century, extends to Latin America alone.

It is also worth examining prospects for the specifically Latin American process of integration and

⁸ See AG/RES 1181 (XXII-0/92), "Resolution on the Interamerican Defence Council." In addition, two Resolutions on Cooperation for Hemispheric Security were approved in Nassau (AG/RES 1180 and 11/79). Five resolutions on the subject of security were approved in Managua, concerning the IDC (AG/Res 1240), the Ban on Nuclear Arms (AG/RES 1239), Information on Military Spending (1238), the Meeting of Experts on Trust Measures (1237) and Security Cooperation (1236).

⁹ In his article "The Latin American Option," published in *Foreign Policy* magazine in 1992, Robert Pastor discussed the need to provide the OAS with a military arm. Pastor's name was seriously considered for the post of Under-Secretary for Latin America in the U.S. State Department.

The Fourth Ibero-American Summit: all quiet on the western front

The fourth annual meeting of the presidents and heads of state of 21 Ibero-American countries, held in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia on June 14-15, raised few expectations. As on previous occasions, the leaders of the Ibero-American countries failed to establish concrete mechanisms of action for their initiatives, which are already beginning to show signs of wear.

The summit's aims and agenda, defined in 1991 during the first meeting in Guadalajara, are still the same: to foster political dialogue between participants, identify points of agreement, explore means for economic integration and trade, and gain a say in international affairs. The agenda focuses on three major themes: political affairs, economic and trade problems, and technical and cultural exchange programs.

In the midst of tight security, participants called for an acceleration of processes of trade and integration, alternatives for participation in the world economy, solutions to conditions of extreme poverty in the region, steps to combat drug trafficking and promote democratization. These subjects had been discussed, with greater or lesser emphasis, at previous meetings.

As usual, Cuba played a leading role at the meeting. Despite their severe economic problems, the Cubans arrived at this summit encouraged by the announcement that Canada had decided to break the economic blockade promoted by the United States, as well as the Mexican president's condemnation of the blockade a few days before the meeting.

Each summit also has the effect of mitigating criticism of Fidel Castro's regime, notwithstanding the presence of its habitual enemies —Argentina, Uruguay and Spain. The Cuban president proved that even his fashion statements are newsworthy, since for the first time ever he forewent his green fatigues, turning up at the summit in a loose-fitting white shirt. This prompted widespread speculation as to whether the change might herald other political changes on the island.

Castro was among those who received the most applause, even when he criticized the weakness of declarations in support of Cuba; as at previous summits, the support of many attendees did not translate into concrete actions. Likewise, the final summit document rejected the blockade without specifically mentioning it, couching all references to Cuba and the United States in diplomatic language.

In view of all this, Ibero-American leaders need to discover a formula for making these annual meetings productive, to prevent the next meeting, to be held in Argentina, from signalling the beginning of the end.

Elsie L. Montiel
Assistant Editor.

agreement, as well as the nationalism of the region's ruling classes —particularly in the Southern Cone and Brazil, areas that are not as dependent on the United States and are more able to diversify their links with other international players.

Another topic that will inevitably be discussed is the Cuban problem. Cuba has always been a test case in hemispheric relations, since, in a contradictory way, it combines notions of Latin American independence and anti-Americanism with politico-ideological considerations constituting an alternative model.

There have been attempts, based on the criteria of non-intervention, respect for ideological plurality and the need to strengthen the organization further, to invite Cuba to join the OAS, from which it was expelled in the '60s.

So far, however, the policy of keeping Cuba out of the organization has prevailed, with the encouragement of the U.S., until such time as it carries out the internal changes needed to make it comply with the criteria set forth in the Santiago Declaration and consecrated by the Washington Protocol. Still, one should not

discount the possibility of further discussion of the Cuban case within the organization.

Analysts will also focus on the actual performance of the new Secretary General, César Gaviria. On the one hand he has supported a specifically Latin American approach, distancing himself from the U.S. approach on Cuba, for example. On the other hand he legitimized the U.S. military presence in Colombia and owes his new post to the maneuvering of U.S. diplomats and those of major Latin American countries. Will they ask for anything in return? ✕

Towards a new spiritual globalization

For Ximena

Javier Esteinou Madrid*

The past

Ever since the emergence of capitalist society over two hundred years ago and its spread to almost all the world's nations, the majority of Western societies have seen the creation of a technological, efficiency- and production-based, pragmatic, science-oriented and rationalistic consciousness that has enabled mankind to achieve enormous material progress.

Thus, for example, the progress of material consciousness has been perfected to such an extent that it has achieved control of human reproduction through biogenetics; construction of the first residential platforms for life in space; the discovery of a zone in the center of the human brain that produces cerebral medicine; genetic deciphering of the make-up of human beings; the first astronomical discovery of a galaxy about to be born; the birth of a test-tube baby; the creation of a neuro-computer able to think for itself; genetic therapy based on the transplant of artificially produced cells, giving rise to a new era in medicine; cold nuclear fusion, which has changed the age-old laws of traditional physics; the drawing of chromosome maps making it possible to correct molecular damage in genes

and thereby prevent hereditary disorders, and so on.

However, the same progress has not been achieved where the soul is concerned. In fact, during this period, man's inner world has become so materialistic, alienated and objectified as to create an acute spiritual regression.¹

¹ In January 1994, the sacred cosmic city of Uxmal was the site of the Fourth International Symposium on Science and Consciousness organized by the Athenian Society for the Development of Science and Humanity, the Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University and the Autonomous Metropolitan University/Xochimilco, to study problems concerning changes in human consciousness.

Scores of intellectuals, writers, scientists, priests, philosophers, poets, politicians and mystics from 22 countries and all four regions of the world gathered to contribute to the rebirth of man and life in contemporary societies.

The term Uxmal is a Yucatecan Maya place name derived from *Ux*, to harvest or pluck fruit from the bush and *Mal*, a reference to the number of times a task is repeated. In other words, Uxmal alludes to a region with abundant harvests. This tallies with the agricultural potential of the Puuc highland region (*Guía oficial de Uxmal* [Official Guide to Uxmal], Mexico City, INAH and Ediciones Salvat de México, 1991, p. 17). It is no mere coincidence that Uxmal is located in the triangle of the Puuc area, an ecological zone of approximately 3,000 square miles in the states of Yucatan and Campeche. The triangle and its fullest expression, the pyramid, are physical structures that increase the ability to produce and radiate the magnetic and electromagnetic energy produced in these areas. (For further

Thus, the culture we have formed over so many years in the West—and now in many areas of the East²—has increasingly become a culture of information rather than knowledge. “In the past few centuries, from the Renaissance to the present, man has gradually replaced wisdom with knowledge. The distinction between

information, see Bill Kerrell and Kathy Goggin's *Manual of Pyramid Energy, Uses and Applications*, Mexico City, Editorial Posada, 23rd edition, 1992.)

This is why ancient cultures such as the Egyptians, Mesoamerican Indians and some Oriental societies built their religious centers in the shape of a pyramid.

It is noteworthy that Uxmal was the Mayas' “female” city, differentiated from their “male” city, Chichen Itzá, meaning sacred well of the “Itzaes” or water wizards. This lent Uxmal specific qualities for the cosmic phenomena taking place there, qualities spread towards the rest of the world.

As a result, the phenomena of spirit and consciousness that take place there have a special importance, since they occur in the context of the new female energy emerging in the world to correct the course of the planet's development.

² One example of the power of penetration of Western culture, in its consumer form, in the Oriental world is that since the fall of the Soviet bloc Russia has been invaded by commercialism. Everything can be sold through the “Greater Russian Exhibition Center,” from Western luxury automobiles (an impossible dream for the majority of the population) to cheap plastic women imported from China. The huge advertising posters lining the park's main thoroughfare show that times have changed in Russia and that the engine driving everything is none other than money (*Excelsior*, February 17, 1994).

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'knowledge' and 'understanding' has been lost."³

The gradual intensification of this mentality over such a long period in our country and the world in general has produced severe personal and global crises, disguised as modern progress, in the harmonious relation man should maintain with his person, nature and the life that surrounds him. Western culture has made us quickly forget where we have come from, where we are headed and man's purpose on earth.

This has silently led us to a deep psychic alteration of our minds and energies, producing the destruction of our ecological surroundings, the extermination of thousands of animal species, growing exploitation of man by man, the depersonalization of mankind to such an extent that we have become mere merchandise, unlimited abuse of the planet's resources, exaltation of the material over higher values, alienation of the individual, the lack of harmony between individuals, etc. We have entered a cycle of unhealthy civilization that has led to a drastic reduction in the quality of our lives and to the global destruction of the planet.

This crude reality has caused mankind to become a spectator to itself. This self-alienation enables us to observe our own process of destruction as an aesthetic experience of the first order through the mass media.⁴ An

³ Jaime Coberos, foreword to *Esperando el milenio; reflexiones sobre el final de los tiempos* (Awaiting the Millenium; Reflections On the End of Time) by D. Bonet, J. Coberos, L. M. Martínez Otero, J. Perasejordi and J. Phaure, Barcelona, Ediciones 29, p. 10.

⁴ Héctor Schmucler, "The Frankfurt School and Walter Benjamin Against Tranquilizing Strategies," paper presented to the Seventh Latin American Meeting of Social Communication Faculties, Acapulco, October 1992, photocopy, p. 10. In this respect, a propos of México, the journalist Francisco Martín Moreno

example of this are planet-wide televised broadcasts, complete with advertising breaks, of the wars in Vietnam, the Falkland Islands and the Persian Gulf, as well as the massacres in

remarked: "Despite the extent of air, land and water pollution in Mexico City, the alarming increase in urban crime, police corruption and the notoriously inefficient provision of services, the Institutional

Sarajevo and famine in Somalia, which we observe as dispassionate spectators.

This culture has created a form of spiritual suicide in our societies; and spiritual suicide leads —sooner or

Revolutionary Party (PRI) won the elections once again in August 1991. Society observes its own extermination motionlessly. Has the electorate gone mad? Did it vote for group suicide?" (*Excelsior*, March 21, 1992.)



Jorge Santana, *As Black Fire Heats*, oil on canvas, 1994.

later—to material suicide. We can say that for a long time now, people and our modern societies “have lost their Tao, in other words, the meaning of life, their way; and people who have lost their way are overcome by anguish about uncertainty. This proves that the competitive struggle for life and, with it, the feeling of human insecurity, has intensified in direct proportion to the rapid advance of progress and its respective achievements.”⁵

The rapid spread of this view of Western urban life has brought us to a stage of exhaustion and extreme fragility when it comes to ensuring the survival of mankind and life on our planet.

Towards another future

In view of the severe crisis facing us in the late 20th century, it is essential to reflect on the fact that if we do not radically alter our level of spiritual consciousness and the practical acts derived therefrom, it will become increasingly difficult for us to survive as the human race on Earth.

For this reason, civilization’s most important project for the coming millennium will not involve the formation of new economic blocs according to geographical zones, the creation of new technologies, the conquest of new markets, the increase in world competitiveness and efficiency, etc.—the bases of current projects for modern development—but instead changing man’s level of moral awareness of himself, society and his role in it.

Thus the current crisis is not one of productivity, technology, inventiveness, efficiency or capital, as

we have been made to believe by the new “market philosophies” that have conquered all corners of the world, but a crisis of cultural and spiritual values that translates into disastrous economic, political, social and ecological consequences for people’s lives. This is a crisis of ideologies, worldviews and conceptions of the meaning of life.

“Technical-scientific predominance and positivism in its different forms have failed, in the same way as individualism and so-called ‘social realism’. The ideals and values of life are losing their basis and meaning. Technique and the desire for progress have led us to nihilism and to cast human beings into oblivion, in favor of quantifiable, calculating thought. The world seems absurd and incoherent.”

We have a multitude of material and technological resources at our disposal to enable the human spirit to plot a new course. These include the mass media, library networks, cultural centers, new information technologies, formal and informal information systems and the “information highway.” All that is necessary is for individuals to become interested and start working on shifting our minds and feelings in the direction of this new horizon of human growth.

It is vital to stop the advance of the “culture of death” that is gradually extending throughout the world. To do so, we must use the mass media and other educational infrastructures to create a cultural globalization aimed at the defense and preservation of life, instead of the increasingly large concentration of capital.

In the same way as the globalization of the economy has integrated world markets, opening new fronts in macroeconomic relations on the threshold of the third millennium, it is now vital to advance a new “planetary awareness” enabling us to recover and create values for the survival of mankind.

Communication and culture can no longer continue to be conceived in outdated, instrumental terms as the mere transmission of information from one body to another or as the “cultural adornment” of institutions and companies. Nowadays, it is vital to recover the essence of communication and culture as a force for humanizing processes in individuals, enabling them to evolve to higher stages of development.

In order to reinforce industrialization in their economies, capitalist societies created a consumer consciousness, based on the short-term accumulation of goods and the disintegration of man.

To survive as a species, we must now create another form of human consciousness, no longer based on the parameters of the evil known as the “new world order” but on the call for respect for the sea, races, chains of reproduction of life, human rights, the rehumanization of cities and man, harmony with the universe’s cycles and the survival of biodiversity; in short, the call for the “rebirth and splendor of life.”

Unless we act now, in the next few centuries, we shall have larger cities, astounding new machines, unimaginable concentrations of capital in certain societies, highly advanced communication systems, “intelligent” structures in almost all areas of everyday life, medicines that will further prolong our average life span and all kinds of international merchandise. However, we shall also have a more disintegrated man than the one we know now, since he will have lost even more harmony with himself, the universe and all the life forms around him.

That is why we should break the circle of spiritual illness, while we still have time, and raise awareness of man’s new awakening to a higher stage of personal fulfillment. Otherwise, we will continue along the path of death, the road on which our civilization embarked many decades ago ❧

⁵ Vogelmann, D.J., foreword to *I Ching, El Libro de las Mutaciones* (I Ching, the Book of Changes), Argentina, Editorial Sudamericana, 1976, p. 13. Vogelmann points out that “every man has his Tao and the best thing he can do is follow it. The oracle puts him in contact with the Tao of universal laws, thus showing him his own Tao—currently translated as ‘way’, which is extremely difficult to explain in difficult times” (*ibid.*, p.15).

Philanthropy in Mexico

Angeles Espinosa Yglesias*

In recent years Mexico has witnessed the development of an activity which, unfortunately, is still poorly understood: philanthropy. As a range of foundations have come into being and grown, Mexican society has become aware of the activities of philanthropists, both as individuals and in their collective form (the foundations themselves). Most people still confuse philanthropy with charity or welfare.

Yet philanthropy is something different. In order to discuss philanthropy today we need to understand that it is not a synonym for charity; instead, as the etymology of the word indicates, it means the love of human beings. This love is based on the possibility of improving the life of social groups in terms of their basic needs, in a way which is disinterested albeit not devoid of objectives.

As defined by one of the most knowledgeable figures in the field, James A. Joseph, President of the Council for Foundations, philanthropy must be "the art of giving." Like any art, it has its secrets.

Philanthropy arises as a means for benefiting society, or in some cases particular people, families, businesses or corporations which decide to devote a certain portion of their capital to works that advance development within a given society.

In ancient times philanthropy as such did not exist; neither did foundations, which are the institutions through which the philanthropic spirit is presently expressed. When thinking of Pericles

or the Medicis we can scarcely speak of philanthropy. What did exist was patronage. Princes, great men of the church, kings and the well-to-do financed artists, making it possible for them to survive in exchange for tangible works of art which became the property of those who contributed their resources. Patronage was a way of helping the poet, sculptor, musician, painter or architect.

Many examples relating to patronage could be mentioned, but here I only want to cite it as an antecedent to philanthropy and to the context in which the latter is carried out today. While in the case of patrons the phenomenon consisted of direct, personal support, which usually depended on the sympathy a powerful person felt toward an artist or scientist, philanthropic work is less personal and has other goals.

In the case of Mexico, for example, foundations—which have made private giving possible—appeared with the arrival of the Spaniards. The conquistador Hernán Cortés created the first philanthropic-type institution in Mexico. He established the *patronato* (association, literally patronage) which, from 1524 to 1527, founded the first hospital in the Americas: the Hospital of the Most Pure Conception of Our Lady, subsequently known as the Hospital de Jesús.

The tradition of benefactors seeking to improve social conditions continued, and in 1540 Fray Juan de Zumárraga founded the Hospital of the Love of God, whose purpose was to treat syphilitics; Pedro López created the Hospital de San Lázaro for lepers; Don Antonio de Mendoza donated several of his haciendas as grounds for

what would later become the University of Mexico.

Over the course of three centuries the foundations of New Spain (as Mexico was known in Colonial times) grew, under the control of the Catholic Church. While few welfare institutions were independent of the clergy, one of those that did exist was the Monte de Piedad,¹ which is presently a government affiliate having nothing in common with the original institution of that name.

Between Independence and the Revolution the tradition of foundations decreased considerably due to social and political unrest. It was only in the mid-20th century that this tradition began to regain strength, growing substantially in recent years.

One example of the growth of private foundations devoted to public welfare during the 1950s is the Mary Street Jenkins Foundation, of whose board of directors I am a member. Created by Guillermo Jenkins in 1954 with assets of more than seven million dollars, the Jenkins Foundation set several goals for itself, in pursuit of which we have been working for many years.

One of these goals has been supporting education, since both Mr. Jenkins and my father, Manuel Espinosa Yglesias, as well as the rest of those who make up the board of directors believe that a society can achieve a better future only on the basis of solid education.

Thus the Jenkins Foundation has invested significant sums in the

¹ Literally, Mountain of Charity; a large-scale pawn shop whose proceeds are used for public assistance. (Editor's note.)

* Director of the Amparo Museum.

University of the Americas at Puebla, which in Mexico, Latin America and the United States is considered one of the continent's outstanding centers of higher education.

The second foundation that I represent bears the name of my mother, Amparo. On the basis of the experience my father acquired as president of the Jenkins Foundation, in 1979 he created the Amparo Foundation in memory of my mother. He made it clear that the foundation's objective would be to carry out beneficent activities in Mexico; in the foundation's charter he put forward the goals he intended it to achieve.

The three basic goals were, and continue to be: support to educational institutions, promotion of culture and creation of health centers. The Amparo Foundation's most significant works have involved contributions to the excavation of the Templo Mayor, the creation of Mexico City's Monte Fénix Clinic and the establishment of the Amparo Museum in the city of Puebla. The latter was an ambitious project costing years of effort, but

three years after the museum opened its doors to the public it is considered one of Latin America's most important cultural centers.

This contrasts with experiences I have recently had with a number of people who represent various institutions yet lack the understanding that the purpose of philanthropic activities—whether those of individuals or of foundations—is not to publicize the name of the person who initiated them, that their activities are not charity and that the resources they distribute, while not intended to produce profits, are oriented to producing concrete results.

Thus we can see how the two foundations in whose directorship I take an active part have devoted their resources to the social, educational and cultural well-being of Mexico. Like us, other Mexican businessmen have created foundations with the objective of benefiting the Mexico of today. Among them are the Miguel Alemán, Domecq and Gilberto foundations, the Televisa Cultural Foundation, the Mexican Foundation for Rural

Development and a great many others which, as of this writing, come to the extraordinary number of 608.

The "Directory of Philanthropic Institutions" explains the field of action of each foundation. Prominent among them are those related to ecology, health, education, development, research, science and technology, culture, art, human rights and social welfare.

In this context I would like to highlight the activities undertaken by Manuel Arango with the creation of the Mexican Philanthropy Center, which has laid the basis for national foundations to have a common core through which they can communicate and carry out joint activities.

Once again, without seeking the spotlight, motivated by that "art of giving" which is the essence of genuine philanthropy, this entrepreneur decided to establish the trail-blazing Mira (Look) program—the motto of which is "look after others"—and promotes the activities of Mexican foundations, whose numbers are growing daily. ❧

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The National Palace

The National Palace, which houses Mexico's Federal Executive and the Treasury of the Federation, among other government institutions, is located facing the Plaza Mayor, in the "first block" of Mexico City's Historical Center. This is the site of the palace where Moctezuma Xocoyotzin lived, in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, when Hernán Cortés arrived in 1530.

After the siege of Tenochtitlan and the resistance of the Mexicas, Cortés appropriated the two most important buildings of the fallen Mexica city: the Old and New Houses of Moctezuma, which had been destroyed and rendered practically uninhabitable. By order of the Conquistador, in their place two ostentatious palaces were built with the Indians' blood and sweat.

Years later, the Colonial government lacked space for its tribunal and other offices. The Spanish Crown purchased these two buildings from Martín Cortés, the Conquistador's son, in 1562, and used them to house offices of the Viceroy's government. What is now the National Palace was then converted into a fortress.

One of the important modifications that the Palace underwent over time was due to the fact that it was almost entirely burned up after the rebellion of 1692, when the people rose up against mistreatment and the famine provoked by the loss of wheat and corn harvests during the previous year throughout New Spain.

After Viceroy Gaspar de Sandoval practically rebuilt the palace in 1693-94, it lost the appearance of a fortress; what remained was an enormous Baroque palace.

During the governments that followed Independence, the ministries of War, Justice, the Interior and Foreign Relations were installed there, as was the Office of the Treasury.

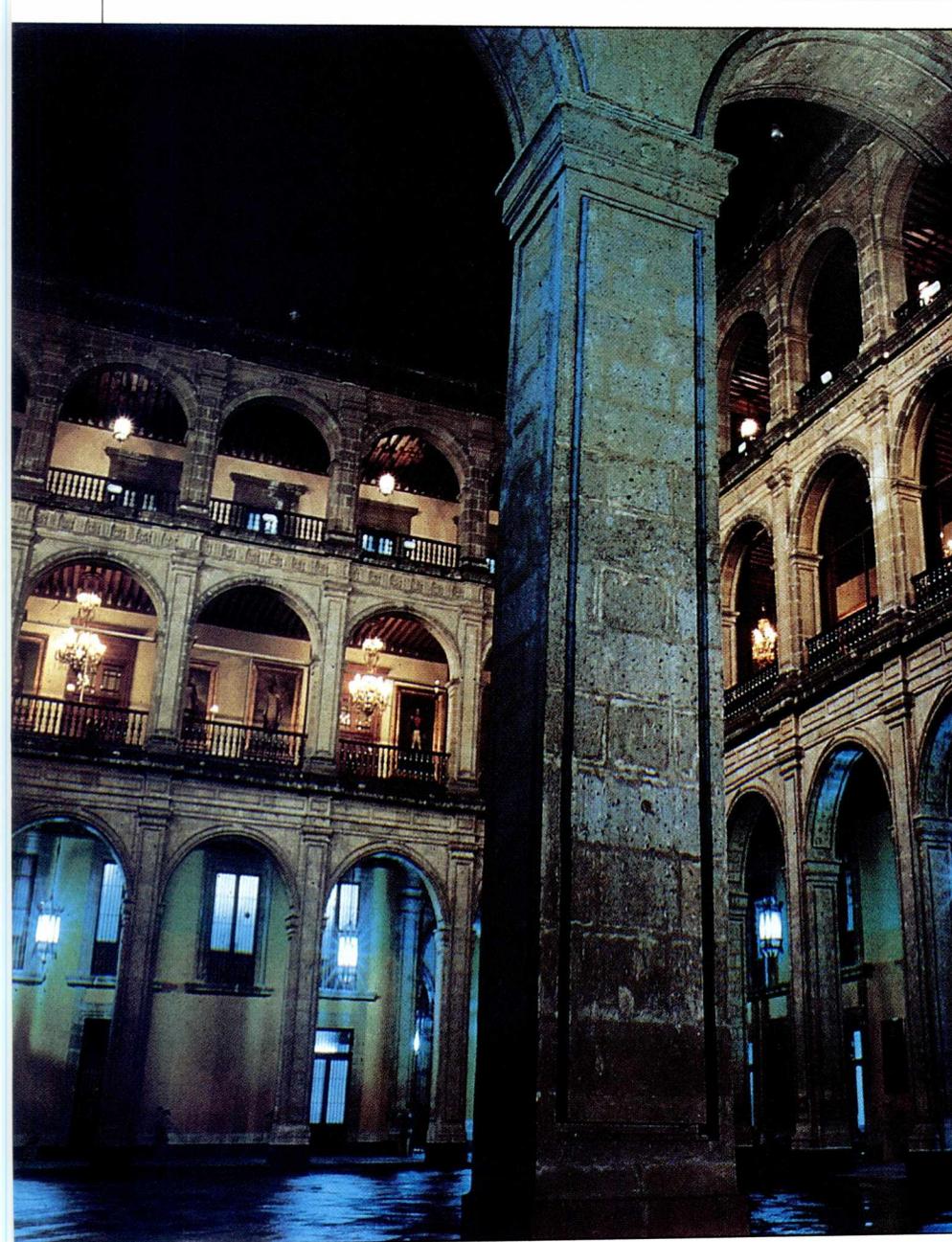
The seizure of the Palace in July of 1840 by the federalist group led

by Valentín Gómez Farías, which sought the overthrow of President Anastasio Bustamante, severely damaged the building, making new repairs necessary.

In 1845 the assembly hall for the House of Representatives was built in



The president of Mexico gives the "cry of independence" from this balcony each year, on September 15th.



The beautiful "Patio of Honor," one of three original patios dating from Colonial times.

the rear part of the Main Patio and the Senate was built on the upper floor of the south wing.

Emperor Maximilian charged the architect Lorenzo de la Hidalga with the construction of a grand staircase of white marble in the Patio of Honor and ordered luxurious decorations for the chambers in the public area: paintings, oil lamps, candelabra and richly manufactured French ceramics which today continue to adorn several areas of the Palace.

After Maximilian's brief imperial adventure had come to an end, from July 15, 1867 on the

National Palace housed the powers of the Republic. The consequent reorganization of government offices transformed the building's appearance once again.

In the last third of the 19th century, astronomical and meteorological observatories were built on the roof of the building; the north and south wings were remodeled; the offices of the Secretariat of the Treasury and Public Credit were radically transformed and the Bell of Dolores —used to give the famous "cry of independence" in 1821— was installed in the Central Balcony. The modifications of the

building's main facade carried out during those years gave a "Frenchified" air to its exterior.

Between 1926 and 1927 the palace underwent new transformations. In the interior the grand stairway of the Central Patio was constructed, as well as the steps and office suites belonging to the Treasury. Besides adding an annex to the building, the walls of the facade were covered with carved red *tezontle* rock and stonework for the doorframes, windows, cornices, parapets, and other finishings. The Palace was returned to its Baroque style, which it retains to this day.

The late 20th century

Besides being the seat of the National Executive, the National Palace houses other government offices. For this reason its doors are partially open to the public. To give an idea of the grandeur of this historical monument, we will take a brief imaginary tour, beginning in the private areas of the Palace.

Before entering the building through the main door of the principal facade, we encounter the central window of the first floor, located above this doorway. The window is framed by two pilasters. A niche, in whose interior is carved the Sun of Liberty, houses two small Atlases which support the Bell of Independence. The railings of the balconies which face the Plaza Mayor are made of iron.

On the third floor, around the Patio of Honor you find the four Galleries of the Rulers: to the north, in the Gallery of the Emperors, some of their likenesses are exhibited, among them Netzahualcōyotl and Cuauhtémoc; to the east and south are the Galleries of the Presidents, and to the west, that of the Insurgents, leading to a number of reception chambers. All of the galleries serve as antechambers to the Presidential Chambers and are enclosed by large windows facing onto the Patio of Honor.

In general the architecture of the Chambers as well as the Galleries is Colonial. Wooden beams support the roofs; the floors are parquet; the furnishings are in the Italian Renaissance, French and Colonial styles; carved wood covers part of the walls; Baccarat crystal lamps, Talavera-style ceramics and bronze candelabra are among other objects that decorate these areas.

On the third floor, south of the Main Stairway, we encounter the Chamber of Ambassadors, in which official activities are held, such as the presentation of ambassadors' credentials to the government of the Republic.

Continuing on we arrive at the Purple, Green and Blue Chambers and the Library, which leads to the President's private elevator. The Presidential Elevator—built in 1901 in Art Nouveau style—is worthy of special mention, since it was one of the first three installed in Mexico City.

To the east of the Library is the Chamber of Agreements, where important working meetings are held, which frequently define the future of the Republic. Further on, in the Presidential Study, the Presidential Chair and an impressive bookshelf stand out among the Renaissance-style furniture.

The Moorish room and the dining room, witness to many an elegant banquet, as well as important working meetings, are the last of the spaces considered to make up the private area.

The general public enters the building through the central door leading into what is known as the Central Patio. This patio is currently used on special occasions, such as the annual dinner in commemoration of Mexican Independence, on September 15, as well as receptions which the President gives for heads of state visiting Mexico.

The Patio is square in shape; on each side there are ten beautiful arches with railings of solid bronze; the



The Empress' stairway.

pillars feature spires and Tuscan bases. It also has three levels of arches, corresponding to four floors. In the center it boasts a fountain adorned with a beautiful Pegasus, made of bronze and marble by the Mexican sculptor Humberto Peraza.

The Central Patio is connected to the Marian Patios. These, built in the Neo-Classical style, used to house the Jail of the Court at the end of the 17th century. In the portico which separates the two Marian Patios one observes a monument to President Benito Juárez. It was sculpted by Miguel Noreña out of the bronze from the cannons taken from the Conservative army in the battles of

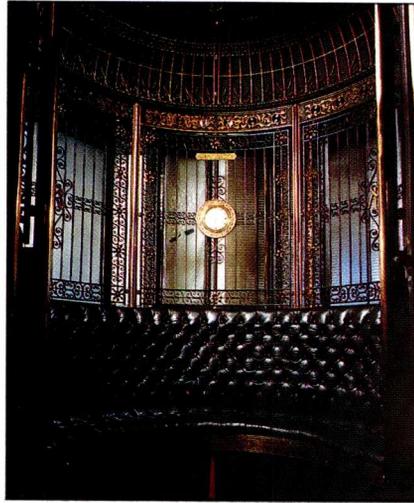
Silao and Calpulalpan in 1860, and the shells fired by French artillery during the siege of Puebla in 1863.

To the left of the central door is the main stairway, where the splendid murals of Diego Rivera, painted between 1929 and 1935, are located. As Efraín Castro remarked: "The painting in the main stairway is divided into sections where Rivera paints successive historical syntheses of pre-Hispanic and Colonial history, of the Mexico of the Independence period and contemporary times, and ultimately predicts an era of well-being and progress if the people develop science and technology

and free themselves from their traditional oppressors.”

The triptych gives a chaotic first impression because of the location of images, the mixture and abundance of colors, and the infinity of characters it depicts. These figures appear to be united in a timeless moment bringing together the diverse history that Mexico has lived. Yet it is precisely this chaotic impression which makes the muralist's work so unique.

In the north wing of the Central Patio, between 1944 and 1952, Rivera created other murals representing the daily lives of the



The Art Nouveau-style Presidential Elevator was installed in 1901.

ancient Mexicans and the great city of Tenochtitlan.

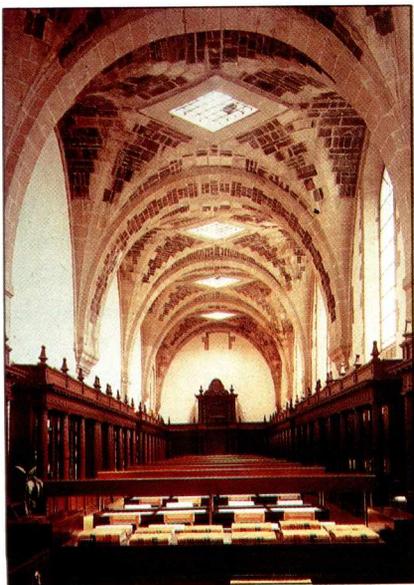
To the northeast, in the part of the building which houses some of the offices of the Secretariat of the Treasury and Public Credit, one also finds the Panamerican Room, decorated during the reign of Porfirio Díaz in a Victorian Neo-Classical style. In the Room of the Shields one may admire the shields of all the Panamerican nations, which are painted upon the walls. The Treasury Chamber stands out because of its Venetian floor mosaic in red, green, white and black, as well as the mahogany with ornamentation based on coins and cornucopias.



The Treasury Chamber is done in mahogany with ornamentation based on coins and cornucopias.



The dining room, decorated in 1901, has witnessed many an elegant banquet.



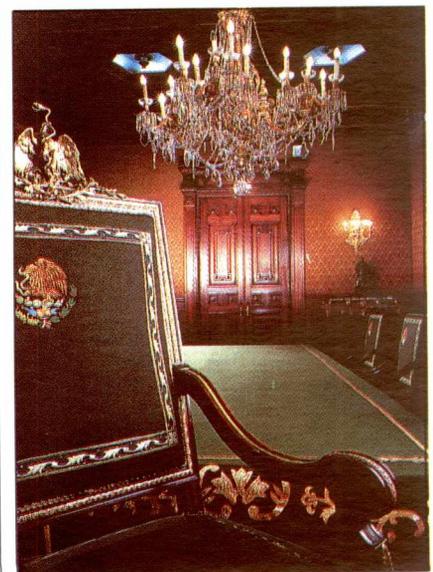
The Treasury Library was a chapel in Colonial times.

In recent times, due to construction work on the Metro and the effects brought about by the uneven settling of this area, the structure of the Palace has resettled. This gave rise to a new series of works which are presently nearing completion.

The Palace's architectural evolution reflects the history of the many changes Mexico has lived through over the course of four centuries. A close look at those changes makes us think that the National Palace has been, and continues to be, the manifestation of a society in perpetual movement **M**

Maricarmen Velasco Ballesteros

Staff Writer.



The Presidential chair, which Emiliano Zapata proposed to burn because of the ambition it awakens.

Angel Zárraga: Mexican painting from Paris

The work of Angel Zárraga did not receive the same recognition as that of other painters of his generation. This may be due to the fact that he lived in Paris for more than 35 years, or because he did not

deal with the revolutionary themes that absorbed his contemporaries in Mexico. Yet Angel Zárraga obtained great fame in Europe, where he was trained as an artist and defined himself as a Classical painter, after having

experimented with such vanguard currents as Cubism and Modernism.

The painter's life and work were taken up in a book by Antonio Luna Arroyo. "Angel Zárraga is a little known artist in our country. Of pacifistic temperament, he is well known in other countries, above all France. Other painters of his epoch criticized him due to aesthetic disagreements and because of the relations he established with the 'well-to-do' class in times when wealth and aristocracy were in conflict with the idea of a revolutionary Mexico."

The importance of religion to Zárraga, as a man and as a painter, is shown in the work he did in chapels in France as well as in the Mexican city of Monterrey.

The influence of great Mexican thinkers

Zárraga was born in the city of Durango on August 16, 1886. At the age of seven he moved to Mexico City with his family, enrolling in the San Ildefonso National Preparatory School in 1899. His teachers were José María Vigil, Justo Sierra, Ezequiel A. Chávez, Rafael Angel de la Peña, Amado Nervo and Manuel de la Parra, all of them thinkers and artists representative of that time. His first works include drawings and portraits. It is likely that his closest friends, Diego Rivera and Saturnino Herrán, influenced his orientation to innovative ideas.



Le Pantin, 1909.

His artistic participation included the literary camp. During this early period he was sporadically published in the magazine *Savia Moderna* (Modern Sap), for which he continued to write from Europe. Years later, after returning to Mexico, he published *Poemas* (1917-1939).

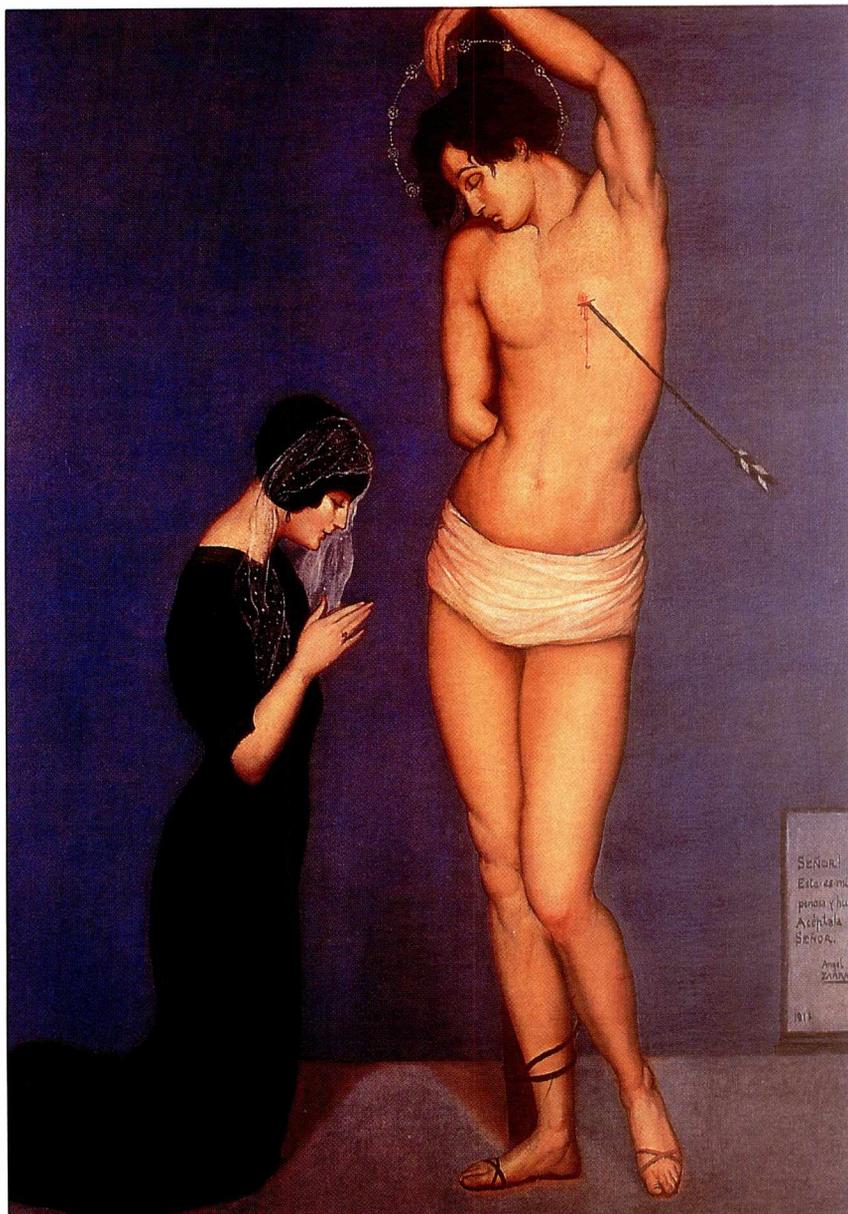
The vanguard in Europe

At the end of 1904 he moved to Europe, where he studied at the most important schools of the day. After arriving in Paris he moved to Brussels. He enrolled in the Royal Academy and became interested in the Symbolist movement represented by Fernand Khnopff and James Ensor. Reviewing an exhibition of the *Libre Esthétique* that introduced the Impressionist movement, he wrote: "I confess that I was greatly disconcerted and that when I saw the most diverse things brought together under the label of Impressionism I asked myself why some gentlemen are possessed by a mania for classifications."

In Spain he was part of an outstanding literary group that included Ramón del Valle Inclán, and participated in a collective showing in the Prado Museum called the "Exposición Internacional de Madrid." His paintings *Autumn Sonatas* and *Brown Earth* were awarded prizes.

This is a synthesis of what he wrote from Spain about color in *Savia Moderna*:

"I believe it is not difficult to convince anyone of the expressive power of color. A color certainly has less expressive and emotional power by itself than when it is contrasted or harmonized with another. However, between white, which gathers all the rays of the sun, and black, which absorbs them, each color has its own accent, with happiness and tranquility as you move closer to



Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, 1911.

white, and melancholy or sadness upon reaching extreme darkness. "Yellow is the color which emanates most directly from light; colorist peoples, like the Chinese, see it as the most beautiful hue. Stained by black are the hides of terrible animals—such as tigers—and this contrast of gold and black is very common and well-loved among the violent peoples. Divine Spanish ladies wrap their bodies in

prestigious gold-black cloth from Manila.

"Red is situated between clear hues of happiness and the tranquility of the shadowed tones. It has an expression of dignity and pomp.

"Blue is the color which rises and falls the most in the tonal range; it reaches an almost imperceptible white and deepens towards the boundaries of black. It pleases the poets, because it is

immaterial and heavenly. Thus, in succession, one may speak of the expressive characteristics of a color in itself, and similarly we



find that chiaroscuro has its own special expression.”

A characteristic work from his Spanish period is the 1906 painting *The Old Man in the Sanctuary*. It shows the clear influence of his Spanish teachers, especially Zuloaga and Sorolla. The dark tones are typical colors mixed with black, the traditional atmosphere of the home with white ceramic pitchers, combined with old Castilian types.¹

His travels in Europe extended to Italy. In 1910, along with Zuloaga, Valentín Zubiaurre and De Chirico, he was invited to participate in a collective exhibition in Venice, where he displayed *Autumn Allegory*.

Cubism, a transitional stage

Zárraga was a late-comer to Cubism. While this experience strengthened his knowledge of composition, it did not provide him with an acceptable outlet. This may be because its figurative demands made him uneasy or his exercises never gave him a full understanding of the movement's impulses and ideas.

Zárraga admitted that he joined the Cubist movement as a sort of discipline, forgetting that for the theorists of that time Cubism was a way to conceptualize the world, an end in itself.² He came to regard Cubism as dehumanized art. In his struggle to be part of the changes then occurring, he went through a period of general disenchantment which led him to return to original sources, to the study of man, and to follow Cézanne's conceptions of synthesis. "In nature everything is designed according to three basic units: the sphere, the cone and the cylinder." In other words, he

¹ Elisa García Barragán, *Angel Zárraga, entre la alegoría y el nacionalismo* (Angel Zárraga, Between Allegory and Nationalism). Mexico City, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1992, pp. 15-16.

² Ibid., p. 34.



Blonde Soccer Player.

◀ *Cuauhtémoc, 1927.*

decided to return to structured painting and compositional sense.

From Cézanne he also derived the desire to work on pieces which "demonstrate a new spirituality and freedom, which contain an aura; in synthesis, which bring back Classicism."

Sports

The search for a more human way of painting, together with his great attraction to sports, led Zárraga to paint the human figure from a Classic point of view. In *The Soccer Players* he masculinizes the feminine figure. His portraits and athletic personages of harmonious proportions also date from this period.

In Paris, during the war, he fell ill with pneumonia, from which he recovered thanks to the care given him by a Russian friend, Jeanette Ivanof, a soccer player who initiated him into the sport and to whom he became engaged in 1919. In that same year he

made his first incursion into mural painting, as well as decorating the Vender Henst house.³

Religious themes

Between 1922 and 1925, he decorated the Vert Coeur castle, near Versailles, and in 1924 he painted the crypt of “Our Lady of Salette” in Suresnes, Paris—judged by critics to be his most beautiful work of religious painting. Zárraga’s fame reached as far as Mexico. His fellow student and friend José Vasconcelos invited the artist to participate in his messianic cultural crusade to paint murals on the walls of Mexico City’s most important public buildings. Zárraga declined the invitation, since he had not yet completed his work at Vert Coeur castle. He was nevertheless able to take part in the decoration of the new Mexican Legation in Paris. This work implied a separation from the religious

themes which he had been working on over the previous months.

Angel Zárraga did not have a clear idea of the fundamentals of the Mexican School, principally represented by Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco. This lack of information was due to his scanty knowledge of post-Revolution Mexico. His memories were those of the “Frenchification” and Europeanism of the Porfirio Díaz epoch. Thus, in the Mexican Legation in Paris, he presented the lyrical vision of a Mexico that would be acceptable and accepted in the world concert of nations.

In 1927 he began the decoration of the Legation with oil paintings of various sizes. The first canvas in his imaginative historical survey is *Cuauhtémoc In the Storm*, in which “the falling eagle”⁴ relates the encounter between two cultures.

The artist’s pictorial experiences and emotions flourished in these paintings, the intention of which is muralistic and which can be considered his most definitive experience within the Art Deco movement. In 1926, José Vasconcelos’ wife Irene wrote a review of the painter’s work for the *Diario de Lisboa*, noting: “Zárraga is the most Classical of painters, because—perhaps unlike any of his contemporaries—he achieves a balance between reason and sensibility. Neither the one nor the other is dominant. Heart and mind are in agreement.”

The Chapel of the Redeemer was the most complete work he had done until then. The architects gave him complete freedom to paint the frescos *Annunciation*, *The Redeemer*, *Eternal*

³ Antonio Luna Arroyo, *Rescate de Angel Zárraga* (Rescuing Angel Zárraga), Mexico City, Cuadernos Populares de Pintura Moderna, 1979, p. 51.



Dolores del Río, 1927.

⁴ Cuauhtémoc was the last Aztec ruler; his name means “falling eagle.” (Editor’s note.)



Tehuana Girl, 1927.

Bliss and The Via Crucis. “The al fresco paintings fit the spaces in an exact, proportioned way, clearly delimiting two domains: the spiritual and the terrestrial.”

In 1934 he married again, this time to María Luisa Gysi, who was Swiss. He continued painting portraits and some landscapes. He also painted the frescos in the University City chapel in Paris and—in the midst of the German invasion of France during WWII—the murals of the “Maison du Café.” Zárrega directed a series of programs on Radio-Paris designed to awaken anti-Nazi consciousness in Latin America. This put his life at risk and ended his stay in Europe.

Return to Mexico

Until then Zárrega had occupied the post of honorary diplomatic attaché (1933-1938). With the help of friends he returned to Mexico, where many opportunities awaited him. He entered the Seminary of Mexican Culture, of which he later became vice president. At the same time he published *Poemas (1917-1939)*, with a prologue by Alfonso Reyes. He decorated several locations, among them the bar of the Bankers Club, where he painted *Poverty, Wealth, Abundance and Pleasure*.

Zárrega’s work is hard to classify. He can be described as one of the most important mid-century painters of religious themes, as a portraitist who achieved a deep psychological penetration of individual characters or as many painters brought together as one. His Impressionist and Cubist-style landscapes testify to this versatility.

Through more than fifty continuous years of work Zárrega expressed a kind of solitary rebellion. This came through in whatever style he used, from the

most severe Castilian forms to purely decorative elegance, and it compelled him to modernize the techniques of masters from other

times, in contrast with the tendencies of his contemporaries **M**

Mónica Ching
Assistant Editor.



The Horn of Abundance, 1927.

Ezquerria and *lejanista* architecture

If the garden is paradise, the house must come as close as possible to it in its appearance, and be a paradise as well.

The Koran.

Expert in the art, architecture and archeology of Egypt and the Mediterranean, as well as European and Middle Eastern architecture, José Luis Ezquerria exalts taste, fantasy, feeling and emotion. His architecture, with a strong Mudejar influence —exquisitely white and framed by nature— is sweet and human, made for man himself.

Villas

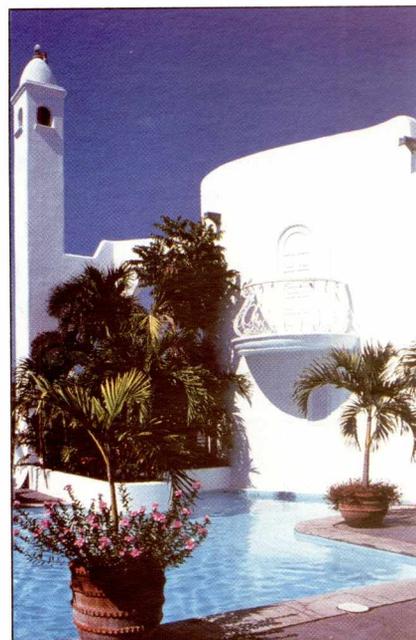
La Atalaya, Coral and Casarena, located on the Manzanillo coast, form a trilogy of homes for tropical vacations, elegantly built by José Luis Ezquerria. Each is unique, suiting the personality of its owner.

Villa La Atalaya, designed for Robert and Margarita Garza Sada, was the first to be built and left a strong

imprint on the architecture of the area. The ironwork of the balcony and fences is shaped like intertwined stems of plants; vegetation has grown freely around the house, embracing it. Reserving space for nature has been a constant in Ezquerria's designs.

Villa Coral was born of the dream of its owner (a businessman from Houston, Texas): "I saw it emerge from the bottom of the ocean, like a coral reef, with all sorts of marine life hanging from its sides as it gushes water and lichens, until it rose to a height from which, like a fantasy castle, one could gaze out on the sea." The roofs of the villa's six apartments were inspired by the Duke of Bomarzo's stone garden in Tuscany, except that instead of monsters, Villa Coral is full of crustaceans and sea shells.

Villa Casarena owes its name to the fact that it is covered in sand, which was applied with a base of resin and egg white to achieve a very



Villa La Atalaya, Manzanillo, 1977.

original and pleasing result. Each wall was built with stucco, arches and special friezes, and each bathroom contains tiles designed by Ezquerria's company; the models were destroyed so that no copies would exist. The floorstones were brought from lime sedimentation strata in Puebla's Atoyac River.

Another elegant seaside residence is Villa Salamandra, in Nuevo Vallarta, Nayarit. The stairs are the most striking architectural element. What is their significance? Ezquerria responds: "The union of sky and earth, as in the Babylonian ziggurats, pre-Hispanic pyramids and castles of all periods." The villa is owned by Rubén Mereles and his wife, Louise Noelle.

José Luis Ezquerria, creator of the famous Hotel Las Hadas, is considered one of the most renowned architects working in the Mexican "lejanista" style. The residential and tourism projects he has designed, full of symbolism, are a great contribution to the cultural and artistic richness of Mexico.

Ezquerro's international work includes the design of Villa Toranzo in Madrid, where he discovered that the kind of specialized bricklayers required no longer exist. Thus the central cupola of the living room had to be built with concrete and not with brick. "Fortunately this trade still exists in Mexico, where it is relatively widespread," comments Ezquerro.

He also designed Villa de Cartes and the Villas Albanas in Horseshoe Bay, Texas. The latter means "white villas," and originates in the traditional summer villas built in past centuries by prominent Italian families in the hills of Albany, near Rome. Dozens of deer live peacefully around the houses.

For José Luis Ezquerro, designing, building and decorating

homes for people, as well as living in them, are spiritual acts. His houses are truly homes, full of detail, inviting one to enjoy life.

The architecture of fantasy

In the course of over three decades of professional work, Ezquerro has collaborated in tourism development in several parts of the world.

In his opinion, tourism projects should provide visitors with as much fantasy as possible: "The world of leisure must be diametrically opposed to everyday reality, providing the visitor with a complement to his freedom of spirit. We cannot forget that fanciful spectacles have always attracted millions of people, bringing gigantic benefits. Disney World, Epcot Center and Las Vegas are

examples of this fantasy, which human beings yearn for."

This was one of the factors Ezquerro took into account in the architectural design of Las Hadas (The Fairies), the hotel which put Manzanillo, Colima "on the map," thanks to the magical effect it had on international tourism. Several movies and television series have been filmed there, including *Ten* and *Green Ice*, and its style has been imitated in other parts of the world.

"Las Hadas was built as a village, with private suites connected by lanes, squares, hibiscus and bougainvillea arcades, and stairways leading down to the beaches. Its architecture is unique. It unites the spiritual, the traditional and the functional with the aesthetic, to

Ezquerro y la arquitectura lejanista

José Luis Ezquerro

Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla
Mexico City, 1994, 251 pp.

Spain's Royal Academy of Language says that *lejanía*, *lejano* and *lejos* come from the Latin *laxus*, which means great distance; distant or remote in time or place; the vista or aspect of a person or thing seen from a certain distance; a way of perceiving something.

Lejanismo has to do with the look or appearance of architecture, as seen from a certain distance. Nevertheless, this vision of the distant is not exact. It does not attempt exactitude of theme or form in the same way as archeology or photography. It means not merely contemplating the past but doing so with nostalgia for a lost art.

The term *lejanismo* arose at UNAM in the 1950s: "I remember Pere Miret inspiring the group [Department of Architecture, Class of '53] with this new spirit, and José Luis Ezquerro, full of creative zeal, feeding the new trend with constant ideas" (José Luis Marín de L'Hotellerie, *Excelsior*, December 7, 1989).

This university environment had an enormous influence on Ezquerro: "The Catalan Pere Miret, a colleague in the Department of Architecture, spoke of *lejanismo* as something nostalgic, antagonistic and contrary to the rationalist currents of the time, for some Spaniards were unsympathetic to the Saxon theories that were denaturing Hispanic tradition.

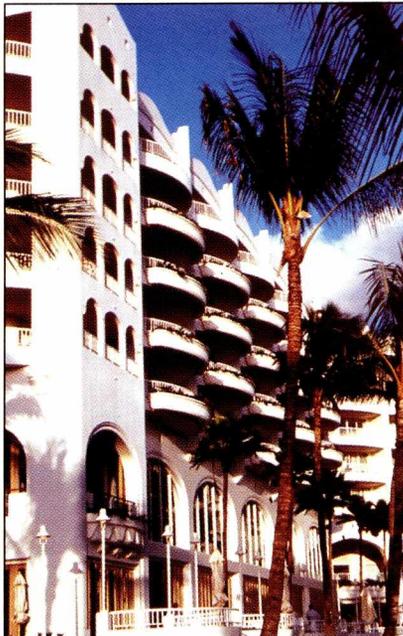
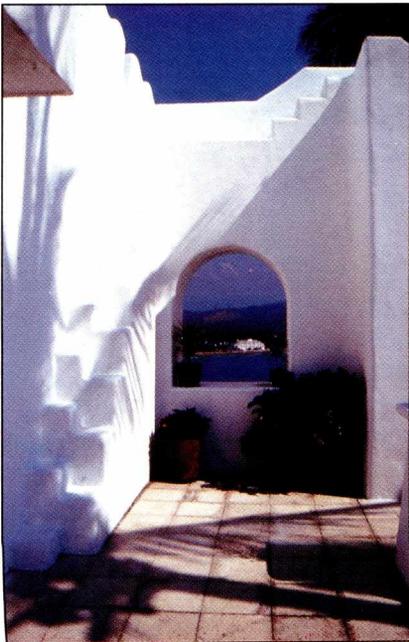
"These Spanish immigrants, some of whom came as exiles and others for different reasons, adopted Mexico as their own country. A number of them were imbued with the ideas of Gaudí and Sorolla. A fascination for the Impressionist look of Mediterranean light was part of their nostalgia; those were their lands and their distant memories. That was the first time I heard of *lejanismo*. The prospect of sharing those ideas of freedom and cultural roots resonated in me and penetrated my mind indelibly."

Thus Ezquerro's *lejanismo* provides a glimpse of the past and represents a surrealist expression of its sensations and distant cultural feelings, both Western and Eastern. This implies the freedom of creation, "with nostalgia for lost art."



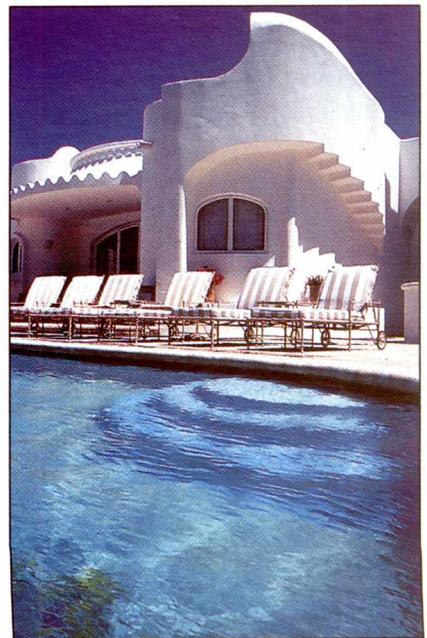
Villa Casarena is covered in sand (arena), Manzanillo, 1979.

Villa Coral, Manzanillo, 1979.



Hotel Kea Lani, Hawaii, 1986-1992.

Villa Salamandra, Nuevo Vallarta, 1987.





Hotel Royal Solaris, Cancún, 1985.

obtain a beauty that cannot be conceived these days by the most demanding investor” (Martine Valluy, *Vogue*, October 1977).

Ezquerro’s most important work can be found in Colima. In addition to Las Hadas, he designed and built the

Club Maeva and Sierra Manzanillo hotels, which are similar to the Atalaya, Coral and Casarena villas.

Because of his experience and good taste, he was commissioned to design the “Master Image Plan” for San José del Cabo (in the state of Baja

California Sur), and the El Soldado de Cortés “megaproject” in Sonora, which is presently under construction. The goal was to increase the prestige of these important tourist centers.

In collaboration with Fernando Barbará Zetina, he also participated

José Luis Ezquerro

José Luis Ezquerro de la Colina was born on February 2, 1934, in Boó de Guarnizo, Santander, Spain, and has lived in Mexico since he was twelve years old. He graduated from UNAM’s National School of Architecture in 1963 after presenting a thesis entitled *Toward a Latin Renaissance*, in which he denounced the rationalist tradition of the Bauhaus, which at that time dominated architecture schools throughout the world. “My initial radicalization was literally caused by the boredom that the simplistic geometry [of Bauhaus] produced in me, the rigidity of its outlines as opposed to any possibility of freedom,” he notes.

In her prologue to Ezquerro’s book, Louise Noelle of UNAM’s Institute of Aesthetic Research comments: “Unlike the majority of his classmates, his thesis did not deal with any specific building, but with a historically—and philosophically—inspired subject. Thus he began his professional life rich in knowledge, nostalgia and desire to find his own creativity.”

The tree of my beliefs

I believe in God.

That is why I proclaim sublime faith and inspiration.

I believe in the Trinity.

That is why I like geometry and the order of Bernardo of Clairvaux, Palladio and Gaudí.

I believe in the Spirit.

That is why I am filled with enthusiasm by the passionate Baroque light at Tonantzintla, El Pocito and the Chapel of Rosario.

I believe in Light.

That is why I use white, which is the luminous synthesis of the spectrum expressed in Monet, Sorolla and Vasarely.

I believe in the Creation.

That is why I am impassioned by the possibility to recreate it shown in the freedom of Respighi, Vivaldi and Debussy.

I believe in Man.

That is why I am reflected in the historical emotion of Mont Saint Michel, Dubrovnik and the Alhambra.

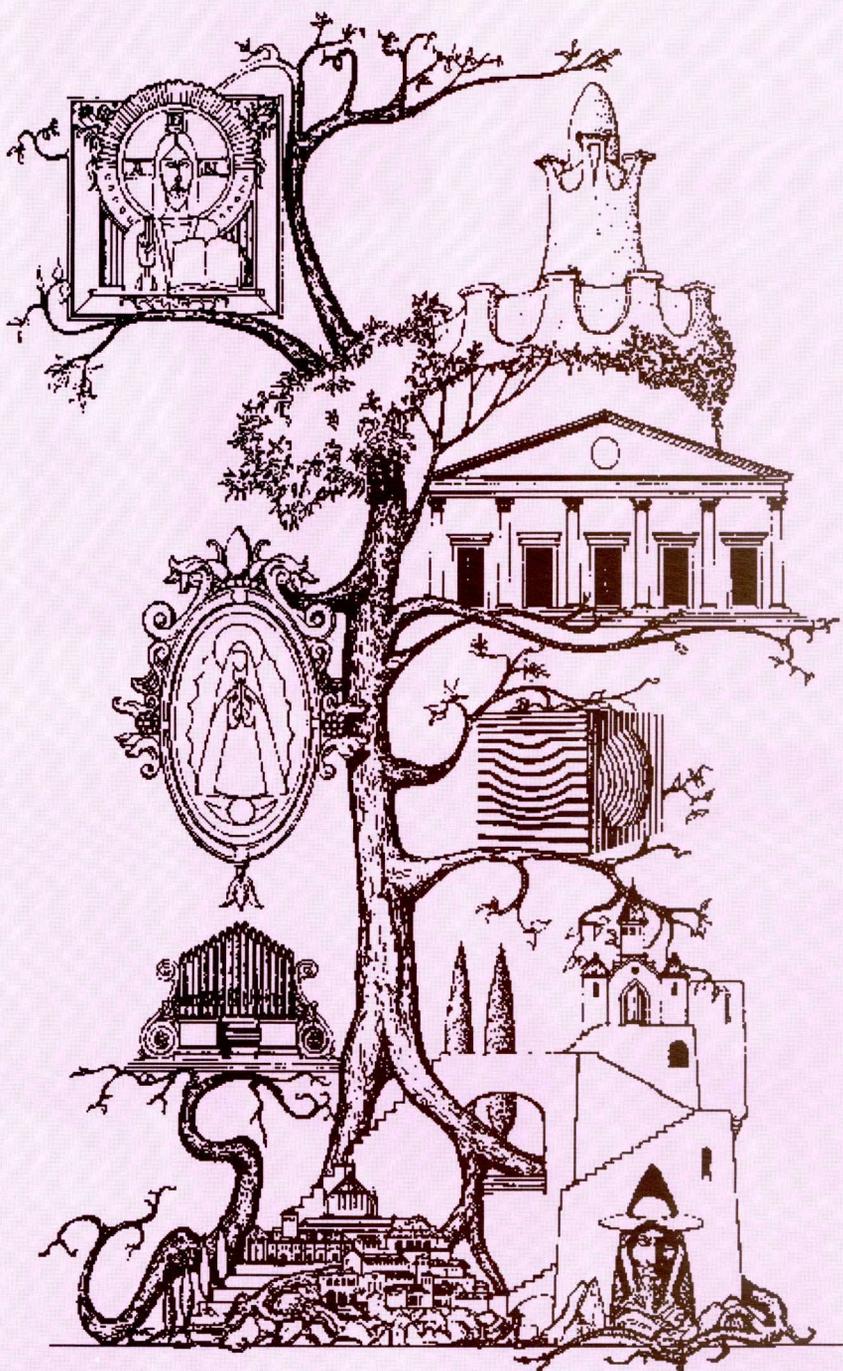
I believe in Illusion.

Because, since it is not pure reality, it allows me to work with the dreams and utopias of García Lorca, Remedios Varo and Don Quijote.

I believe in Architecture.

To which I have dedicated my whole life, with a profound and certain vocation... and of which I believe that:

For all these reasons, it is and must continue to be a sublime expression of love!



Drawing by José Luis Ezquerro Borobia.

José Luis Ezquerro

Mexico City, 1992. In my studio "Del Molino" in the Year of Our Lord 1992, 500 years after the appearance of a New World.

in the design of “archeological villas” at Chichén Itzá, Uxmal, Cobá, Teotihuacan and Cholula. This project was important because—despite the great archeological richness of our country—there are very few lodgings for “cultural tourists,” whether they be Mexican or foreign.

Before giving free rein to his creativity, Ezquerro researches the roots and culture of the places where his projects have been commissioned. “This is a principle on which I base my *lejanista* philosophy, while avoiding the sterile, bad taste of ‘copy-catism.’ In designing buildings it is important to apply one’s own accumulated weight of aesthetic feeling.”

Thus Kea Lani Hotel, located in Maui, distinguishes itself from the rest



Inside a room at Villas Albanas.

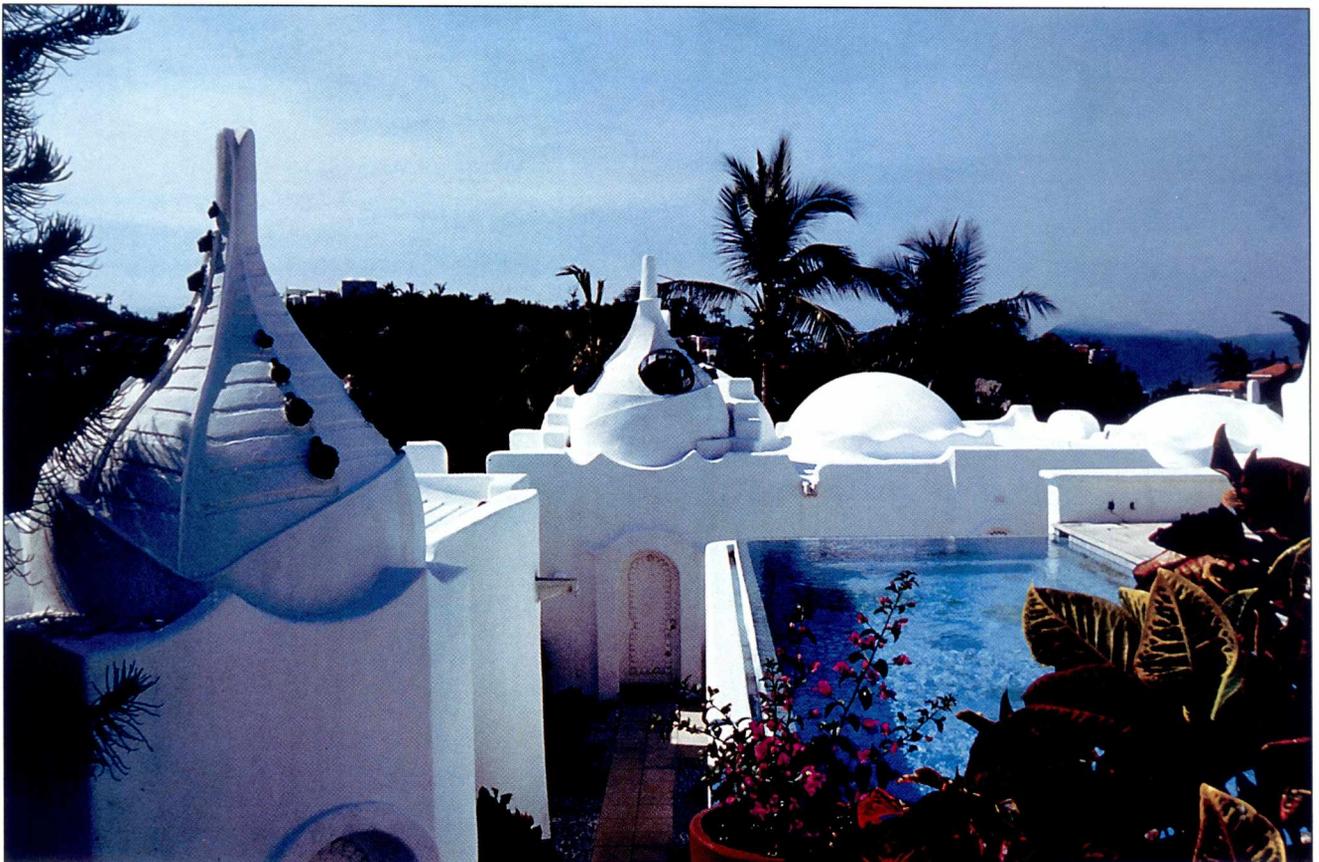
of the hotels in Hawaii, since it is inspired by local architecture from before the post-war U.S. cultural invasion. An example of “vernacular” architecture is the Iolani Palace—the only royal palace in the United States—built in 1882 in Honolulu by King Kalakaua.

Currently, Ezquerro is working on the “Shkirat Club” project in Morocco, a hotel-marina in Berenice, Egypt—on the Red Sea coast—and the private residence of Sheik Kamal Adham in Jedda, Saudi Arabia.

Voices of Mexico is proud to provide a look at the magical, symbolic world of José Luis Ezquerro, distinguished graduate of the National University of Mexico 

Marybel Toro Gayol

Managing Editor.



Villa Coral is full of crustacean and sea shell designs.

Photos by Pedro Ezquerro Borobia.

Trade and cultural *mestizaje*

Mariano Alberto Fernández Real*

Today, as never before, we have in our hands objects from around the world, objects which come to us from distant and unknown peoples who join together with us in this way, introducing us to their way of life and consciousness.

Trade has been one of the most powerful vehicles in the process of cultural diffusion and has even contributed to population flows. Evidence exists that the dissemination of cultures is based on the development of commercial roads or trade routes linking together different populations.

Yet this expansion occurs in more than one direction, since original social forms go through periods of growth in which groups and regions adopt the customs of others as well as contributing their own, giving rise to historical shifts in culture.

The original social forms undergo modifications together with the adopted ones, favoring overall changes. One should avoid archaic terms like “decadence” or “splendor,” the subjectivity of which denatures the essence of social processes.

Before a civilization is “eclipsed,” it changes, maintaining its customs and traditions, albeit

In its literal sense the Spanish word *mestizaje* refers to the process of ethnic and cultural intermixture, giving rise to *mestizos* —people of mixed ancestry. (Editor’s note.)

* Economist.

unconsciously. The exception is when “decadence” consists of the physical, material or psychological eradication of men and women.

These changes are generally inevitable, since society is a dynamic entity where tradition and adaptation, native and foreign traditions, coexist as antagonistic forces. The attempt to avoid change therefore “goes against nature” —unless this attempt is made through isolation. This sort of retrograde effort invents archetypes and folklore which in the majority of cases prove to be alien or even offensive to their supposed bearers, removed from their real roots and alienated from society, principally because they are taken out of context.

There is an infinity of examples which support the argument that cultural dissemination is not “univocal” and that no area can be viewed as an exclusive crucible of culture. On the contrary, every social group produces original social forms; there is a process of adopting traditions from, and contributing traditions to, other groups. This depends on the links that permit this exchange, be it by neighborhood, common activities, population movements or —in economies that have gone beyond self-sufficient production— through commerce.

In this process some cultural forms or traditions are able to maintain themselves while passing

through diverse social contexts. Others are seemingly lost or profoundly transformed, so much so that they become unrecognizable to their own society. At the same time they remain part of the cultural baggage each individual reproduces daily. In the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe one finds the Indian deity Tonantzin; in the barrios of Xochimilco, *mestizos* offer incense and zoomorphic clay figures to Saint Francis.

Thus social forms move between traditions and myths. As is the case with language, society constantly modifies its culture, permanently adopting elements from other social groups according to their usefulness and viability.

The history of Mesoamerica provides us with these types of experiences. The northernmost regions show the influence of the central highlands and vice versa, including in zones where cultural phenomena of distant origin have coexisted, such as the Quechua area of the Incas.

Let us take only two examples. The myth of Quetzalcóatl was presumably born in the center of Mexico. It was taken up by the Quichés under the name of Cuculcán, while at Lake Cocibolga (the Great Lake of Nicaragua) there are monoliths which, without a doubt, represent the feathered serpent from Toltec mythology. The misnamed “Chacmol” is rooted in



Ever more strident voices are raised to demand punishment for those who, from their perverse viewpoint, supposedly contribute to unemployment, criminality, the recession or social decay. The pretext is to find out who is guilty of economic and social situations which can in no way be attributed to groups or individuals, since they are the result of the fast-moving changes which surround us. Through tactics recalling despicable periods of world history, the leaders of these campaigns use falsehoods or half-truths to agitate public opinion and call for a "solution."

Out of this breeding ground there has arisen an initiative called SOS (Save Our State). Through this measure, in November the California electorate is to vote on a series of steps aimed at stripping even more protection from those who have come to this country, with or without documents, to contribute to its wealth and prosperity. This is based on the premise that the state of California can "save itself" if it denies public education, health or basic support services to a group of immigrants, most of whom come from Mexico. I ask: save itself from what? Save itself how?

Approval of SOS or any other set of measures that seek to attack the phenomenon of migration between the United States and Mexico through punitive actions or assaults against defenseless women or children will not only, in my modest opinion, be unable to solve the supposed problem being addressed, but will in fact tend to aggravate it.

And here, so as to leave no doubt on this subject, I would like to stress that Mexico's policy on undocumented migration is very clear. We have no interest in continuing to export people. We want to trade in goods and services, and to create the necessary conditions so that each Mexican has the education, well-being and opportunities he or she needs to develop in their own country. Mexico needs all her sons and daughters to build the nation to which we aspire.

In addition, we recognize that every country has the right to take the measures it considers suitable for establishing its policy on migration and to control its borders in order to see that its laws are obeyed. For this reason we have been working closely with the federal authorities in Washington so they will consult us and design new strategies allowing for a better administration of this phenomenon, starting out not from myths or stereotypes but rather from facts and realities.

Both governments have decided to confront this issue with good sense and seriousness. That is why, in Mexico, we are so concerned by both the intention and possible consequences of state or local measures like SOS.

We are concerned by the inevitable discriminatory repercussions it will have on all Mexicans and Mexican Americans, be they documented or not. We are concerned by the creation of an underclass of human beings without access to the elementary services of public health and education. We are concerned by the hostile, confrontational and violent climate which may be unleashed. And we are concerned—why not say so?—at the damage that will be done to the image of Mexico and the Mexican people, both here and there, which has cost us so much effort to build.

We recognize the domestic character of the SOS initiative. We scrupulously respect the principle that one should not interfere in other countries' internal affairs. But in this case, we Mexicans feel directly affected, and for this reason my government has no choice but to express clearly its total rejection of SOS and its commitment to working closely with those who oppose it, in order to contribute to its defeat.

Thus my compatriots, of all social and economic classes, of all political ideologies and all corners of Mexico have raised their voices to protest against the anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican climate occurring in California and some other states of the United States. High government officials, legislators, academics and the people in general state their repudiation. We want it to be known that Mexico as a whole feels itself to be affected by this.

**Andrés Rozental, Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs.
Los Angeles, California, August 13, 1994.**

Excerpt from speech at the ceremony awarding Luis Valdez and Baldemar Velazquez the Aztec Eagle—the highest decoration bestowed by the Mexican government on citizens of other countries—in this case for their outstanding work to bring Mexico and the United States closer.

Aztec tradition, originating in the Petén settlements.

Some cultural phenomena entered traditions different from their places of origin, participating in and adapting themselves to a process of acculturation. This is the case with Huehuetéotl—the ball game, which shows a type of ancient Mesoamerican ritual unity—as well as the rite of the jaguar.

Commerce brings not only goods or services, but cultural and psychological forms of ideology as well. It constitutes an accelerating factor in phenomena of cultural exchange, supported by the growing efficiency of technology and the means of communication.

While the world seems to have become smaller, this does not mean that cultures themselves are “lost.” An opposite phenomenon has actually occurred: cultural atomization.

As society grows and changes, increasingly radical social forms appear among the individuals who make up specific groups. While men and women of different groups are superficially more alike, at bottom they are more complex and different, particularly in the forms of their relationships.

Thus it cannot be assumed that commerce is negative *per se*, since the determinants and effects in given societies are not the result of trade alone, but of the particular forms in which societies interact.

If two groups interact on the basis of moral equality, the existence and growth of trade reinforces links between the groups, supporting mutual cultural enrichment. It permits the groups to experiment, adapt and share their cultural forms more rapidly and forcefully.

But if one group considers the other morally inferior, viewing it as the object of domination or some

other type of inequality, trade reflects that social attitude. This would be the case, for example, with any kind of racist judgement.

Thus, in mutual relations the determining element is not trade but the vision of “ourselves” and “the other” (otherness-empathy). In any case the culture of the community continues to reproduce itself, unless one of the groups assumes an attitude of superiority, thus becoming a material threat to the culture of the other group.

Three mechanisms can effectively threaten the existence of a society’s culture:

- The physical extermination or dispersion of its members. The counterweight to this is individuals’ need to reproduce their forms of life outside their original context. Yet in such cases the given culture certainly suffers an abnormal modification, at best allowing marginal or unconscious survival but leading, over time, to the culture’s disappearance.
- “Marginalization” is another mechanism of cultural aggression, especially when it takes the form of dispossession or inequality regarding wealth or the means of production. This is also the case in politics, where the individual is denied access to channels of participation, expression or exercise of citizen rights; as well as in situations where traditions

are suppressed or outside customs are imposed.

- Racism and xenophobia are assaults on the existence of “the other” and his or her culture, and can cause any of the previously-mentioned forms of cultural aggression. Here in particular, psychological perceptions of intercultural reality come into play.

Commerce builds roads through which culture can be spread, or which can be the routes for an exodus or the march of armies. They increase the wealth which can be distributed or extracted. This involves ways of life which can be incorporated into one’s own or imposed on others.

It is difficult to predict what may happen with cultures that increasingly interact, and even more difficult to foresee, in cultural terms, what will happen with the rise in commercial relations between Mexico, Canada and the United States—especially because we are speaking of innumerable distinct societies with their own culture, traditions, and ethnic origins in diverse material conditions.

However, the material objective of the Free Trade Agreement should be that the societies involved achieve absolute, not relative, economic improvements. The moral objective should be cultural enrichment, the starting point for which is necessarily the criterion of equity in light of social diversity, on the basis of a mature historical perspective ❧



Environmentalists' views on NAFTA: sovereignty and sustainable development

Sofia Gallardo C.*

The environmental and social demands of the new trinational movement that has arisen because of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and its side agreement, the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (AEC), go beyond the traditional issues that are a normal part of government agreements on international trade.

For the first time, U.S., Canadian and Mexican environmentalist movements mobilized to exert some influence on their governments' international trade policy, which up to then had remained beyond the citizenry's reach.

Their main objective has been to confront the high risks NAFTA poses to the environment, by incorporating ecological topics into the negotiations, topics which had originally been excluded as they were considered "externalities" which would go against the principles of free trade.

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The three countries' environmental movements confronted a NAFTA which has little in common with conventional free trade agreements. The many accords of this kind signed since World War II have aimed at bringing down tariffs on trade goods.

If NAFTA were a treaty of that type it would have provoked little

controversy. Instead, this agreement is a result of globalization policies which translate into an ambitious effort at economic integration covering many areas (in resource trade, for example), similar to what is taking place in the European Community.

Moreover, NAFTA is part and parcel of a process of globalization which over the last 25 years has been

This paper seeks to provide some answers to the following questions: why is the environmentalist movement divided on NAFTA; why is the debate characterized by divergences in the environmentalist movement on the subject of national sovereignty; what are the points in common and the main differences on the subject of sustainable development in the context of NAFTA; and what are the environmentalist movement's points of view on present international trade processes?

characterized by the rise of the global power of transnational corporations and the relative decline in governments' power and/or will to oversee economic activity.

The consequences are distortions in the development process both within nations and between them, massive imbalances in international finance and high levels of both public and private debt, stagnation, instability, mass unemployment, a growing imbalance in income distribution, increasing poverty and hunger, accelerated depletion of natural resources and degradation of the environment.

Up to the early seventies, most types of environmental degradation were essentially local phenomena, which could be eliminated through local and national action. But the world economy is currently moving toward increasingly non-sustainable development and globalization's negative effects on the environment are pushing the planet's capacity to its limits.

In view of this situation, the ecology movement acts in a global context and acquires a global character, not only because of its concerns and standards, but also the way in which it seeks to exert influence: "think globally and act locally."

In this context, between 1990 and 1992 the U.S., Canadian and Mexican environmentalist movements' strategy for influencing NAFTA was to build national, binational and trinational environmental or multi-issue networks,¹ with the aim of circulating information, drawing up joint proposals for sustainable development and increasing their

¹ The multi-issue networks are made up of organizations representing trade unionists, environmentalists, human-rights advocates, women, health institutions, ethnic minorities, immigrants, legislators, and small and medium-sized businesses.

political clout in order to influence the negotiations.

This was possible because they sought to improve their political and social position at the local and national levels through alliances with government sectors, non-government organizations, and even groups with protectionist economic interests.

The activity of the three countries' environmentalist groups reached two peaks of great intensity between 1990 and 1994. The first was during the debate in the U.S. Congress on prolonging the "fast track" and the drawing up of the Integrated Border Environmental Plan; the second occurred during negotiations on the Agreement on Environmental Cooperation and the proposal to form a North American Development Bank to clean up the Mexico-U.S. border.

Toward the beginning of the NAFTA negotiation process, a broad multi-issue coalition was formed to oppose the treaty in the United States. It expressed the fear that the agreement with Mexico would be a replay of the Canadian experience—the Free Trade Agreement between the United States and Canada (FTA)—of attracting indiscriminate foreign investments (including polluting industries) and losing control over natural resources (oil, coal, forests and fisheries).

The members of this coalition consider this would be exacerbated due to the fact that Mexican laws on managing, protecting and preserving the environment are often not enforced. They were concerned about the possible lowering of U.S. and Canadian environmental standards—which in any case have been very low since the enactment of President Reagan's deregulation policies and the FTA.

However, this coalition split up shortly after May 1, 1991, when President Bush presented his Action Plan, in which he committed himself to putting environmental issues on the

table for negotiations. The ecology movement remained divided.²

Both the NAFTA and AEC negotiation process as well as the actions of environmental networks and groups were oriented in large part by the political dynamics and timetables operating in the United States.

In particular, the debate on AEC became politicized when a strong opposition to NAFTA arose in the U.S. AEC's implicit mission—like that of the Agreement on Labor Cooperation—was to get support from Democratic congressmen, citizens' coalitions, trade unions and moderate environmentalist organizations, so NAFTA would be approved on Capitol Hill. This placed the debate on environmental subjects within the more general field of political concerns underlying the process of economic integration between nations with very different levels of development.

The division in the environmentalist movement hinged on the question of a renegotiation of NAFTA and whether the AEC could make up for NAFTA's deficiencies with regard to the environment.

The moderate coalitions³ favored respecting the original text of the treaty and stressed the

² Identification of U.S., Canadian and Mexican networks and environmental groups, as well as analysis of their positions and activities aimed at influencing NAFTA, are developed in: Sofia Gallardo C., "Debate on the Environmental Cooperation Agreement," in *Estados Unidos: Informe Trimestral* (Quarterly Report on the United States), División de Estudios Internacionales del Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Mexico City, Winter 1993, pp. 34-48.

³ Coalition of seven U.S. moderate conservationist groups (led by National Wildlife Federation and Natural Resources Defense Council), Pollution Probe in Canada, Autonomous Institute for Ecological Research and the Group of 100 in Mexico, and the Southwest Voters Network on the U.S.-Mexican border.

A just and sustainable trade and development initiative for North America

1. The networks propose a democratic program for a just and sustainable North America instead of the treaty signed by Bush, Mulroney and Salinas. They consider that NAFTA has a "neo-liberal" orientation directed at eliminating most trade barriers and encouraging investment so as to promote accelerated integration of the three countries, in the name of competitiveness.

2. Principles for a just and sustainable development must be based on respecting basic human rights, promoting sustainability, reducing inequalities, promoting democracy and participation, and supporting the elimination of protectionism on the part of their governments.

3. The proposals for eliminating inequalities between and within the nations are to reform multilateral institutions (GATT, IMF and the World Bank), reduce the debt burden, support small-scale development foundations and promote trade adjustment.

4. Respect for and improvement of international rules on workers' rights and environmental standards is essential, as is encouraging the creation of international environmental standards equivalent to those of the ILO in the field of labor, and enforcing environmental and labor codes (as well as formulating new ones) for transnational, binational, national and local firms.

5. Alternatives must be based on respect for and enforcement of international human-rights laws, high-wage, high-skill development, alternative energy and natural-resources policies, sustainable agriculture, and recognition of the supremacy of Agenda XXI and the Conventions on Climate Change and Biodiversity, the Principles for Forest Management and the Rio '92 Declaration on international development and trade agreements.

6. Efforts should be made to promote the sustainability of the Mexican-U.S. border, through the principle that "the polluter repairs the damage," establishment of a Regional Health and Environment Commission and respect for and implementation of the "right to know" on both sides of the border.

establishment of a strong North American Commission for the Environment, with powers that would cross national borders, as a means to guarantee protection of the environment and natural resources.

The opposing networks⁴ rejected NAFTA and the AEC, having come to

⁴ Alliance for Responsible Trade and Citizens' Trade Campaign with the participation of Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and Public Citizens among others in the United States; the Canada Action Network (led by the Canadian Environmental Law Association); the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (Union of Environmentalist Groups, Debase, and the Group for Environmental Studies, among 100 other organizations); Border Health and Environment Network (led by the Border Ecology Project and Arizona Toxic Information), the Southwest Network for Economic and Environmental Justice and ecology groups coordinated by the Texas Center for Policy Studies on the eastern side of the U.S.-Mexican border.

the conclusion that the agreements treated environmental protection and the conservation of natural resources as non-tariff trade barriers and favored a model of economic integration that would benefit only a small segment of the population in each country, and produce even more inequality and ecological damage.

Yet over and above forms of organization, the main differences within the region's ecology community are expressed—implicitly or explicitly—regarding issues of national sovereignty and sustainable development.

The debate on national sovereignty

The Bush proposal for a North American Environmental Commission, and later the 1993 negotiations on the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation, triggered a

far-reaching trilateral debate on national sovereignty, at a time when the globalization process had put the classic concept of sovereignty into crisis.

NAFTA proposes a new international collaboration between governments and societies that tends to reduce the traditional powers of sovereign states. It sets up supranational agencies and commissions that intervene into both internal and external sovereignty, since they seek to assure that stipulations and recommendations will be applied by member countries in commercial, environmental and labor cases.

A space has arisen for a range of organizations and social movements to become political players and exert influence at the local and transnational level. To paraphrase Daniel Bell, in conditions of accelerated globalization the nation-state has become too small

for the big problems of life, and too big for the small ones.

In the context of the AEC negotiations, debates on national sovereignty were about the power to make, enforce and repeal laws. These arguments take on a different meaning in the three countries, since the national interest and the way power and political authority are organized and exercised vary widely between them.

The three governments expressed diverging concerns on this subject during the negotiation process. The United States and Canada sought to guarantee that Mexico would comply with their environmental rules and regulations so as to prevent it from lowering production costs, attracting investments and making unfair trade deals while causing a lowering of environmental standards in the U.S. and Canada and violating their sovereignty.

Canada and Mexico considered that the application of trade sanctions to guarantee compliance with environmental rules and regulations would open up the possibility of covert protectionism and a weakening of their sovereignty vis à vis a hegemonic United States.

At the end of the negotiations, trade sanctions or suits in the courts of the country infringing the law were chosen as alternative ways of guaranteeing compliance with national environmental laws. Mexico changed its position to acceptance of trade sanctions, in line with the U.S., while Canada preferred such cases to be dealt with in court. For Mexico, allowing foreign interference in its judicial system means its sovereignty will be more vulnerable, given the lack of any real separation between the executive, legislative and judicial powers in its political system.

The seven biggest U.S. conservationist organizations, together with Canada's Pollution Probe and

Mexico's Autonomous Institute for Ecological Research, Union of Environmentalist Groups and Group of 100, made their approval of NAFTA conditional on a change in specific clauses in the side agreements. They proposed that trade sanctions be applied, that protectionist trade measures be eliminated and that national sovereignty be respected.

The opposing groups were even more explicit and proposed that: a) each nation should have the right to draw up and enforce laws controlling trade, in order to achieve environmental and social goals such as the protection of the environment and health, and conservation of wildlife and natural resources; and b) environmental management which respects sovereignty should be understood as being based on democratic, institutional and coordinated participation of representatives of the government, the community of environmental technicians and scientists, and society's ecology and development organizations.

In contrast to moderate environmentalist networks and groups, the organizations opposing NAFTA considered that the AEC limited national sovereignty. These organizations differed, nevertheless, on whether trade sanctions were appropriate, as well as the scope of the North American Environmental Cooperation Commission (ECC).

The U.S. and Canadian organizations wanted a strong supranational commission that would harmonize environmental standards and effectively enforce trade sanctions. The Mexican network came out in favor of a weak trilateral commission that would issue recommendations, in coordination with strong national commissions that would guarantee the enforcement of each country's environmental laws.

There was agreement that the Environmental Cooperation Commission should take on a positive role in promoting sustainable development rather than acting as a more or less punitive tribunal. It would have to create sources of funding for solving the problems presented to it when there is no way to resolve them on a national basis.

The environmental networks and groups in the United States and Canada agreed that the side agreements have no "teeth," or only "false ones," alluding to the inoffensive character of the trade sanctions. The AEC does not include either the mechanisms nor the guarantees necessary to enforce sanctions, and in the majority of cases limits itself to suggesting instead of demanding.

The Americans and Canadians viewed the AEC as restricted to national laws and the definitions that each country gives to appropriate government actions, since there is neither a call to change or create national laws nor punishment or legal recourse on the part of citizens if one of the parties does not fulfill its obligations. Mexican anti-NAFTA groups did not agree, since they consider the obligation to enforce environmental laws and the corresponding sanctions a matter of national sovereignty.

The Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (RMALC) regretted that the AEC had been granted authority to enforce sanctions, as this means allowing a supranational entity to infringe on national sovereignty, and considered that accepting trade sanctions opened up the possibility that AEC, while incorporating weak mechanisms for the enforcement of environmental rules and regulations, would be used for protectionist purposes.

In this context, anti-NAFTA organizations feared the treaty would lead to a downward harmonization of

environmental regulations in order to favor short-term business transactions. This would limit the sovereignty of federal and provincial governments in setting environmental standards.

The statements on sovereignty made both by governments and environmentalist organizations have been oriented toward protecting their nations' capacity to govern themselves and defend their national interest, as each one conceives it. Hence, each puts particular emphasis on the character of the environmental cooperation commission, trade sanctions, environmental standards or the participation of society.

Conceptions of sustainable development

The debate on the AEC posed problems of environmental management whose solution demands coordinated action on the part of the member countries' governments and organizations concerned with this issue. It pointed out the need for a sustainable development model to offset the contradictions of globalization, reduce the North-South conflict and minimize the costs to society within the nations involved.

Although there are still very many definitions of sustainable development, the majority of them start off from two fundamentals. The first appeared in the World Commission on the Environment and Development's document *Our Common Future*: development is sustainable if it satisfies the needs of the present without compromising future generations' capacity to meet their own needs. This position favors the rationalization of development, the regulation of free trade with the aim of avoiding global degradation of the environment, the conservation of resources and an improvement in their distribution among nations and individuals.

The second was formulated five years later, in the *UN Report on*

Human Development, and defines the term as a process in which economic, fiscal, trade, energy, agricultural and industrial policies are designed to achieve a sustainable social, economic and environmental development. This view aspires to an international society produced by universalization of reforms which guarantee sustainable economies, democratic political systems based on structures of social equality and respect for human rights.

In the context of the NAFTA and AEC negotiations, there were three different implicit ideas for sustainable development in North America.

The three governments posited a sustainable development that concentrates on preventing the environment from becoming a barrier to trade. The majority of pro-NAFTA organizations put forward the idea of a sustainable development that seeks environmental protection and management without substantially affecting the logic of (transnational) capital. The environmental networks and groups opposing NAFTA came out in favor of a sustainable development that tries to alleviate the afflictions of the human condition (poverty, an unhealthy and degraded environment, violation of human rights, etc.).

The three conceptions share the idea of development. They consider that economic growth, the expansion of trade and environmental protection are goals that can only be achieved in conjunction. They hold that sustainable development will enable humanity to correct the damage inflicted on the biosphere, without preventing us from enjoying the fruits of development.

There is a fourth perspective of sustainable development, which is a subset of the third position but which in itself does not refer to development. This perspective hopes to encourage a sustainable biosphere.

The fundamental difference between the first three conceptions and the fourth one is that sustainable development conceives of the environment as something that is there to be manipulated to the benefit of humanity, whereas the sustainable biosphere is something to whose needs the human being has to adapt—since its reestablishment is a prerequisite for alleviating the situation of humanity.

These approaches reflect different ideas about what is economically suitable, politically possible, socially just and environmentally necessary in the North American economic integration process. Each one sets different priorities according to its own role in that process.

The only explicit proposal for sustainable development was that drawn up by the networks opposing NAFTA, in order to put forward guidelines for a new free trade treaty for North America.

The Alliance for Responsible Trade (USA) made the initial proposal and held several trilateral meetings—the first in March, 1993—which culminated in September 1993 with the document *A Just and Sustainable Trade and Development Initiative for North America*. Citizens' Trade Campaign (USA), the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade and the Canada Action Network joined in this effort.

In spite of their six points of convergence (see table on page 70), three differences arose between the northern and southern coalitions in the process of drawing up this proposal. First, the American networks supported trade sanctions in cases of violations of environmental standards as a guarantee of a treaty "with teeth" that would assure protection for the environment as well as fair trade. The Mexican network categorically opposed these as it considered them to be an attack on national sovereignty and a weapon for unfair trade.

Secondly, the U.S. networks were in favor of reforming existing multilateral organisms, while the Mexican network proposed the creation of new multilateral organisms that would represent the interests of both North and South.

Thirdly, the U.S. networks proposed respect for immigrants' human rights while the Mexican network added the need to recognize the free circulation of labor as part of NAFTA.

These three disagreements were overcome through eliminating incompatibilities in the text—the issues of trade sanctions, creation of new multilateral organisms and free circulation of labor were not included. These differences were crucial because they meant advantages or disadvantages for the United States and Mexico, and are a sample of how the progressive networks operate in accordance with well-defined national and local interests, and show that they are not willing to accept negative effects emanating from far-away places.

Final reflections

The success registered by North American environmental networks and groups was their contribution to making governments publicly recognize the existence of mutual implications in North American trade integration as well as the global nature of environmental problems; and that

they generated a new social process going far beyond the NAFTA and AEC negotiations.

Hence the need to propose setting up a regional ecological system associated with prevailing or alternative development guidelines. New forms of cooperation between governments, new institutional structures with the participation of non-governmental organizations and different funding mechanisms were put forward.

During the NAFTA and AEC negotiations, the vast majority of trade-related networks and environmental groups agreed on the need to guarantee a democratic process through law and free access to information; one that would include broad participation on the part of the general public. They also agreed on demanding environmental minimums, the internalization of environmental costs, clean production processes and protecting the rights of nature.

The points on information and participation were partially covered in the negotiations, but they present some ambiguities. However, environmental minimums did not appear in the final document.

Consequently, the treaty did not satisfy the majority of concerned environmentalists, despite the fact that some had given it their support. Ecology organizations had considered NAFTA and the AEC as means of influencing their

governments, both from within and outside government institutions, as a political opportunity to advance toward the solution of existing environmental and conservation problems and prevent further degradation of ecosystems.

Yet divergences within the North American environmental movement did not only involve questions of organization and the various groups' inclusion or exclusion by their respective governments. Differences also showed up in their ideas on national sovereignty and sustainable development.

In the debate on sovereignty, the positions of the U.S. and Canadian organizations were different from those of their Mexican counterparts with regard to the Commission for Environmental Cooperation, enforcement of trade sanctions, environmental standards and national laws. This reflects the existence of different interests in the North and South.

As NAFTA goes into effect, ecology groups in the three countries face encouraging prospects. They are making an effort to meet in order to discuss the establishment and functioning of the North American Environment Commission, and look towards making trilateral proposals to their respective governments. The need has arisen for a continental network on free trade, given the proliferation of trade treaties in the region. ❧

Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela completed negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement in May. As a result of the agreement, tariffs will be immediately lifted from 40% of Mexico's exports to Colombia, while 5% more will become tariff-free over five years and the remaining 55% over ten years. As for Venezuela, only 1% will immediately become tariff-free, with tariffs scheduled to be lifted from the remaining 99% over ten years.

At the same time, tariffs will immediately be removed from 50% of Colombian exports to Mexico, and from the remaining 50% over ten years, while Venezuela agreed to the same terms as Mexico.

The Free Trade Agreement was signed by the heads of state at the Fourth Ibero-American Summit in June at Cartagena, Colombia and will go into effect on January 1, 1995.

Raquel Villanueva
Staff Writer.

The “Black Legend” and fantasy in the New World

Luis Roberto Torres Escalona*

The discovery, encounter with, or invention of America were cause for controversy and delirium for the Europeans from the beginning. The mentality of the Old World's inhabitants was filled, in the first place, by fantasies and imaginings about the unknown world. Ancient beliefs flourished in the excited minds of travelers to the New World; as luck would have it, medieval legends, with their dark seas, fountain of eternal youth, antipodes, Amazon women, chimeras, and fantastic beings with terrible, strange and seductive customs, were reflected in the mirror of the Americas. The reality seen or recounted surpassed the improbable, acquiring knightly connotations whose echoes were heard until the last few years of the 18th century.

Together with this romantic idea of the history of the New World there cohabited another, no less controversial one, known as the “Black Legend” —nourished by the supposed atrocities committed by the Spaniards against the Indians at the height of the Conquest and denounced, principally, by the Dominican Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in his distinctive works. The most famous of these, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the*

Indies, depicts the cruelty, avarice, pillage and extermination that define the barbaric character of the conquistadors, which is still widely discussed today. The Conquest culminated in the last third of the 16th century under the reign of Philip II, when Spain reached the height of its power.

History has so many twists and turns that historical figures and their deeds often do not receive due attention or just recognition. Only the tendentious research of some erudite aficionado or specialist brings back certain forgotten figures, whose image has been censured or eclipsed by

other, perhaps more fortunate personages. Such is the case of Gírolamo Benzoni and Théodoro de Bry, unquestionable pillars of the ideas which shaped the fantastic vision of America, as well as the Black Legend, but whom few remember when the theme of the inhumane treatment suffered by the Indians in America arises.

Benzoni authored a chronicle of voyages to the New World which is considered to be an eccentric biography. This work was originally written in Italian under the title *Storia del Mondo Novo* and was published for the first time in Venice in 1565, at



* Department of Artistic and Cultural Goods of UNAM's General Property Office.



Francesco Rampazatto's print shop, under the direction of Gabriel Benzoni. The two most important reprints were made before the end of the century, and the book was translated into Latin, French, Dutch, German and English — Spanish was excluded for obvious reasons.

Théodoro de Bry was a Dutch printer and engraver with considerable talent and a solid reputation in his trade. He was the author of the famous *Collection of Travels Great and Small* in 14 parts, which relates stories of trips to America. This work stands out for the number and richness of its plates. It was published in four languages between 1590 and 1634. In 1597 its engravings were used in the Latin edition of Las Casas' *Brevisima*; they were also used in the three most notable Latin translations of Benzoni's *History*.

Fortunately, the National Library's Reserved Collection safeguards a copy, in three volumes, of the *History of the New World* by Girolamo Benzoni. Each volume was printed in a different year — 1594, 1595 and 1596— and each has a distinct name: *Americae pars quarta*, *pars quinta*, and *pars sexta*. All of the texts were translated by Urban Chauveton, who, furthermore, is accused of having made changes

in the work in order to accentuate its anti-Spanish character. Théodoro de Bry's printing and illustrations were carried out in Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

The book begins with Benzoni's trip to American soil. It recounts Columbus' discovery of America and his four voyages; describes the beginning of the Indians' enslavement and Las Casas' conduct before Spanish sovereign Carlos V and his attempt to emancipate the Indians. It explains the development and effects of the "Laws of the Indies" promulgated in favor of the Indians in 1542; speaks of the undertakings embarked on by conquistadors Hojeada and Nicuesa in the Darien Gap and Veragua; mentions the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Núñez de Balboa as well as his death; gives details about the formation of runaway slave territories on the islands as well as the mainland; studies indigenous customs as well as the flora and fauna; reports on incursions by French corsairs; and poses questions regarding the campaigns of Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro. The book ends with Benzoni's return to Italy, among other matters.

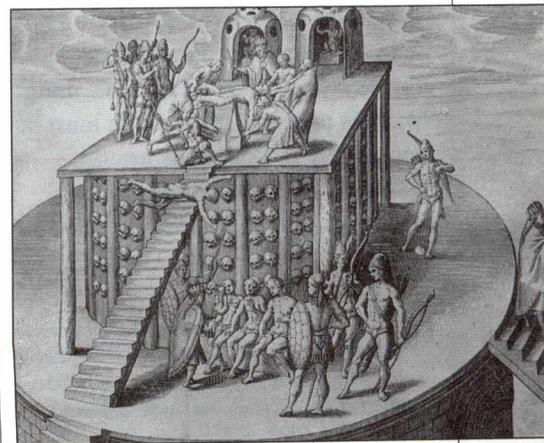
With regard to the content of Benzoni's chronicle, Léon Croizat wrote:

"Storia is not the narrative of an eyewitness to more or less significant warlike acts, nor to the political intrigues surrounding a key historic event. Nor is it the stern compendium of a high-ranking personage closely linked to the royal Court, on friendly terms with the foremost figures of his time. Still less is it a compilation of generally reliable works by others, prepared in relative peace, with abundant resources, by someone who stood on the same level as the foremost wise men of the day. Storia is a work of purely journalistic flavor, a report done in order to satisfy

the innumerable curiosities awakened by the Conquest of the New World outside of the confines of Spain and the sphere of its language."

Regarding the illustrations by De Bry that appear in this book, these fantastic evocations cannot fail to astound us. The iconography is extraordinary, saturated with mythological and medieval archetypes. Tritons, sirens, dragons, fabulous monsters, devils, and distinctive deities from demonological sources are combined in a symbiosis of reality and fantasy. For De Bry, the New World became something magical and mysterious, and unconsciously he transformed it into the Christian Hades. In other scenes, the "good savage" is contrasted with cannibalism, sacrifices, the witches' Sabbath and the horrors to which the first missionaries, as well as some conquistadors, were subjected. Images of the Spaniards' "erotic conquest of the Indies" are not lacking. On the other hand, some of the engravings display pathos, particularly those that illustrate the genocide of the original Americans.

As can be appreciated from the above, this work is a document of primary importance for understanding two of the greatest controversies produced by the discovery and Conquest of America **M**



The arrival of wheat in Mexico



In terms of subjugation, settlement and the imposition of order, Spain began building its new empire when Christopher Columbus undertook his second voyage in 1493. This was a genuine expedition to the Antilles consisting of 17 ships, 1300 men and considerable quantities of cattle, seed and utensils.

Santo Domingo or La Española, Puerto Rico, Cuba and Jamaica marked the beginning of Spanish occupation—as well as wheat's first ports of entry to the Americas. Columbus noted in his diary that it was on these islands that he first tasted guavas, chiles or peppers (confused with Asian pepper), bread and cassava cakes—which, made from yucca root or manioc and very popular in the islands and coastal regions, were eaten by the Spaniards during their crossings to the continent since they did not have their own bread or biscuits (*biscoctum* or hard crackers).

Father Acosta, who was evidently disgusted by them, described cassava cakes as follows: "...a thin, long and narrow cake. Dry, this is the bread they eat; it is a thing without taste and insipid.... It must be moistened in order to be eaten, because it is harsh and rough.... It lasts a long time, and thus is taken by navigators in place of biscuits.... It

Excerpt from Cristina Barros and Mónica del Villar, *El santo olor de la panadería* (The Holy Smell of the Bakery). Procuraduría Federal del Consumidor and Fernández Cueto Editores, Mexico City, 1992.

means eating not wheat or corn but something bad."¹

The Conquest of Mexico was prepared from Cuba at the initiative of the island's governor, who entrusted it to one of his best men, Hernán Cortés, a 30-year-old native of Extremadura. Following the wise saying "*con pan y vino se anda el camino*" (with wine and bread you make your way), Cortés assembled an impressive

expedition, with large consignments of grain and bread making up a key part of the provisions.

The results of the Conquest are common knowledge. It began in 1519 and was consummated two years later with the fall of the Aztec Empire in August of 1521. Regional conquests were carried out subsequently, up through the 18th century with the conquest of Nayarit, Tamaulipas, Texas and the Californias.

In the late 16th century the structures began to take shape which would characterize the Colonial epoch and consolidate the Conquest

¹ Joseph Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1586-1588* (Natural and Moral History of the Indies, 1586-1588), quoted in José Luis Martínez, *Pasajeros de Indias* (Indies Wayfarers), p. 59.



A variety of European-type breads in Mexican baskets.

politically and spiritually, on the basis of the economic and social conquest.

In rural areas the haciendas were developed as a form of land tenure and as the principal unit of production. Of particular significance were cereal-producing haciendas which modified the Mexican landscape so that corn, beans and maguey cactus now shared the land with wheat, sugar cane, rice, barley, oats and alfalfa, among other crops.

In the cities economic activity was slowly growing. Manufacturing centers were founded, above all in Mexico City, Puebla and the Bajío region, with cloth the foremost product. Commercial and handicraft activities were carried out in markets, warehouses, stores and workshops. At the beginning of the 17th century the following curious facts were recorded, illustrating the kind of activities going on at the time: there were 28 chocolate factories, 13 bakeries, 68 clothes stores, 2 tailors, 3 barbers, 4 shoemakers, 7 silver- and goldsmiths, one bookseller and one optician for a population of about 58,500.²

The 16th century can be characterized overall as a period of adjustment and surrender, of clashes and assimilation, conquest and subjugation, interchange and *mestizaje*.³ In this process, those aspects related to man's production for his own sustenance are among the most pleasing, valuable and enriching areas in both cultures.

The result was an amazing, newly fledged Mexican cuisine in which, as a

rule, it would be difficult to distinguish the indigenous from the foreign. The richness and regional variety of this culinary *mestizaje* arose in accord with the mixtures of local products and traditions in the colonized lands, as well as the tastes and contributions of the Spaniards according to their places of origin: Andalusia, Castile, Asturias, the Basque country and Galicia.

Salvador Novo contrasts the value of this conjunction to the greed that precious metals awakened in the conquistadors:

*The most valuable thing the conquistadors took away from Mexico is certainly not gold, teocuitlatl, the excrement of the gods. Gold is death, inertia. It runs out, it hides itself, it remains in its own being or simply changes from one set of greedy hands to another. That which is good, cualli, is that which feeds man and that which, like man, is capable of reproducing and prospering, being fruitful, being eternal, new to each spring, to each reincarnation. That is the true and imperishable wealth.... That which does not run out: our seeds, plants, fruits....*⁴

Of all the products that were brought to Mexico, one in particular symbolized European culture and sustenance: wheat, a grain that—side by side with corn—would provide our fields with a symbol of cultural *mestizaje*. The original situation of “tortillas vs. bread” gradually changed to “tortillas and bread” in the Mexican diet, converting the Spanish saying “If you have no bread, eat cakes” (*tortas*) into the Mexican saying “If you have no bread, eat tortillas”—or as some

would have it, “If you have no tortillas, eat bread.”

Wheat had been introduced in the Antilles beforehand, with poor results due to climatic conditions; the humid tropical climate was unfavorable. As for Mexico, it is quite possible that the first crops of wheat came from the shipments of grain brought by Cortés, who, from early on, promoted new crops both on his own lands and on those of other conquistadors and settlers.

Some chroniclers, from López de Gómara to Humboldt, helped spread the legend attributing all of New Spain's wealth in wheat to Juan Garrido. Garrido, a black man who some maintain was Cortés' slave or servant, was born in Lisbon, traveled to Castile and from there embarked for the Antilles.

As a conquistador he participated in seizing Tenochtitlán and was rewarded with a plot of land which was part of a tract belonging to Cortés, located in the area currently known as the Ribera de San Cosme. He is said to have found three grains of wheat while cleaning the rice eaten by the Spanish army. When he planted them on his plot of land, only one grain germinated, producing one hundred and eighty grains, from which the cereal was propagated throughout Mexican territory.⁵

While it would be difficult to locate the exact date that wheat was first sown in Mexico, we do know that by 1524 significant quantities were being harvested. That was the year that, in a message to Spanish emperor Carlos V, Cortés requested

² Francisco de la Maza, *La ciudad de México en el siglo XVII* (Mexico City in the 17th Century), quoted in Georges Baudot, *La vida cotidiana en la América española en tiempos de Felipe II, siglo XVI* (Daily Life in Spanish America Under Philip II, 16th Century), p. 272.

³ *Mestizaje*: the process of racial and cultural mixture. (Editor's note.)

⁴ Salvador Novo, *Cocina mexicana o historia gastronómica de la ciudad de México* (Mexican Cuisine or Gastronomic History of Mexico City), p. 30.

⁵ See information on Joan or Juan Garrido in *Diccionario autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de la Nueva España* (Autobiographical Dictionary of the Conquistadors and Settlers of New Spain), p. 99.

the grant of various conquered towns such as "...Cuyuacan, where I have cultivations of wheat"; the request was answered in an edict dated May 2, 1531.⁶

Unlike the Antilles, the Mexican highlands turned out —luckily for the Spanish— to be favorable ground for wheat cultivation. It is understandable that they felt the need to have bread like their own and not just our tortillas and tamales. Bread was the basis of their diet and their religion. Once settled here, they were anxious to

⁶ Archives of the Hospital de Jesús, file 17, exp. 3, quoted in José B. Mancebo, *Las Lomas de Chapultepec. El rancho de Coascoanaco* (The Chapultepec Hills. The Coascoanaco Ranch), p. 27.

recover their own customs and the propagation of their own sustenance, of their sacred food.

Religious orders —such as the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits— played a key role in spreading the cultivation and processing of wheat, in all the areas of Mexico where they traveled, all the way up to Sonora and the Californias.

They not only propagated cultivation of wheat, but in various convents and haciendas, in addition to sowing, they milled it and made bread for their own consumption, according to European custom. Testimony of this was left in the architectural remains of ovens located in numerous convents,

such as those of Actopan, Alfajayucan and Itzmiquilpan in the sate of Hidalgo, or one of the first Franciscan convents, built in Huejotzingo, Puebla, which includes an area for breadmaking.

Famous monastic wheat mills were located in Santiago Tlatelolco, property of the Dominicans, and the Jesuits' Belén mill. Orders of nuns also carried out important work in the popularization and spread of various kinds of bread, especially pastries.

At the beginning of the Colonial period, the main obstacle to wheat cultivation was not the land but the Indian population. Their opposition was understandable when the attempt was made to force them to change or share their traditional crops, such as corn, in favor of a completely unknown one which, moreover, called for new techniques and tools.

It was obviously hard to convince them to give up their traditional, simple *coa* or sowing stick for planting corn and to adopt the complicated plough and hitherto unknown cart needed for growing wheat. In addition, they obtained two or three harvests of corn per year, as opposed to the single yearly wheat harvest obtained from unirrigated land.

In light of this situation, in 1559 the viceroy of Mexico decreed that farmers had to pay a tribute in wheat, in order to force them to cultivate this crop. Two years later he rescinded the order when he found out that the Indians were buying the wheat they needed to turn over as tribute. It would seem that the natives' message was "let him eat it with his bread."⁷

The solution the authorities came up with was to cultivate wheat on

⁷ A popular expression in response to being forced to do something, equivalent to "let him put that in his pipe and smoke it." (Editor's note.)



Wood stoves lend an incomparable flavor to bread.

Spaniards' land and force Indians to work these lands in accordance with the *encomienda* or *repartimiento* system.⁸ Acceptance of this was gradual and unequal.

Señor Suárez de Peralta relates an anecdote showing Indians' original rejection not of wheat cultivation but of bread itself:

Poor Indians who went begging... would not accept bread at all, and I don't mean crusts but loaves of more than a pound and a half.... In my own house I saw a poor man return the bread and say that he was asking for money, not bread.

After the initial clash, by the end of the century, the region of Puebla in the center of Mexico—birthplace of Mesoamerican corn—embraced wheat and became the country's main area of wheat production. The Atlixco valley, with numerous Spanish farmers, eventually produced around 100,000 *fanegas* a year (between five and six thousand tons), while in the nearby San Pablo valley, with seventy Spanish farmers, annual production reached about 72,000 *fanegas* (around four thousand tons). In areas surrounding Mexico City, irrigation made it possible to obtain two harvests a year.⁹

As the 16th century drew to an end, the foundations were laid for the development of New Spain [as Mexico was called when it was a Spanish colony]. The process of culinary *mestizaje* proceeded at different rhythms at family hearths, in the countryside, in convents and

monasteries, in the streets and in the incipient commercial establishments.

The Indian population had learned not only to grow wheat but to make bread. As basic breads, Mexico saw the emergence of the yellow-brown "low bread" made of wheat germ and the elegant refined white bread decorated with flower designs (a custom handed down from the Romans).

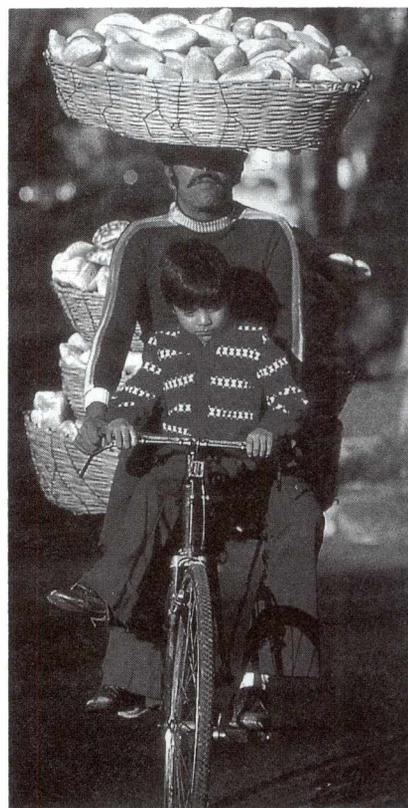
Wheat gave rise to mills and ovens, completing the process required for the emergence of bakeries and, later on, specialized biscuit- and pastry-making shops. A popular saying reflected a growing taste and appetite: Why do you give me tamales when biscuits can be had?

With pride, Bernal Díaz describes the achievements obtained among the Indians with regard to crops and the products made from them:

...now they raise cattle and tame oxen, they plough the land and sow wheat, and they refine and gather and sell it, and make bread and biscuits, and they have planted their lands and properties with all the trees and fruits that we brought from Spain....¹⁰

The arrival of other products needed for making bread laid the groundwork for the gradual and varied development of Mexico's infinity of pastries and sweet breads. Of particular importance was the arrival of sugar cane, which greatly enriched our cuisine's sweets and desserts. Sugar was also dissolved in traditional drinks such as *atole* (a flavored drink based on corn meal) and the famous chocolate; and its use as an ingredient led biscuits to be designated as a form of "sweet bread."

Sugar cultivation underwent a development similar to that of wheat. Cortés himself was one of the first to establish sugar plantations and mills,



Newly baked bread, in perfect balance.

which he set up on his lands in Cuernavaca. From there cultivation spread to warmer lands: Veracruz, Guerrero and Michoacán.

Animal products such as pork lard, cow's milk, butter and duck and chicken eggs rounded out the list of ingredients necessary for making bread and reproducing the sweet recipes of Arab, Jewish or Christian origin brought over from the Iberian peninsula.

Among other delicacies, *torrejas*, *muéganos*, *alfajores*, *roscones*, *mamonos*, *buñuelos*, *mantecadas*, *empanadas*, *puchas* and *ázimo* breads made their appearance. All would be welcomed, mixed and enriched through the contributions of indigenous cuisine, which took shape in the skill, taste and ingenuity used in handling the forms, names and colors of bread X

⁸ Georges Baudot, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁹ Felipe Teixidor, *El fin de nada y el principio de todo* (The End of Nothing and the Beginning of Everything), quoted in Sonia Corcuera de Mancera, *Entre gula y templanza. Un aspecto de la historia mexicana* (Between Greed and Frugality. One Aspect of Mexican History), p. 51.

¹⁰ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *op. cit.*, chapter CCIX (209), p. 879.

Ernesto Zedillo's economic proposals

On June 6, during his election campaign, Ernesto Zedillo—now president-elect—presented ten points for economic reactivation and sustained growth. We present below a summary of these points.

Encouraging investment, the motor of growth

I propose three concrete actions for reactivating public investment and encouraging a significant volume of private investment:

- In the first year of my administration, increasing direct public investment by one fourth over the current level.
- Promoting a reform allowing for multi-year budgeting of public investment. This would provide certainty for the financing of medium- and long-term projects.
- Creating a Fund for Encouraging Investment. This fund would provide investment projects with guarantees for obtaining financing at rates and tempos that would be in line with their performance and maturation rates. It would be able to invest venture capital on a temporary and junior-partner basis, seeking always to complement private

investment. It would be financed with resources derived from the contingency fund, fed by proceeds from deincorporation of public-sector assets [i.e., privatization], which until now have been used to make payments on the public debt. It would be able to contract long-term resources in international markets when favorable conditions exist for doing so, acting prudently, and its resources would be used for specific projects whose profitability would guarantee its ability to repay.

Foreign investment must continue to provide complementary support to domestic investment, since it makes it possible to acquire cutting-edge technology and represents a link with international trade and production flows. We will promote conditions of juridical security and equality allowing it to play this complementary role fully.

Investment in education, training and health

I make the commitment that during the coming administration we will multiply by at least five the number of workers who are currently being trained each year. We will accomplish this through government

Population boom hits billionaires

Forbes magazine reports that the number of Mexican citizens with fortunes of more than 1 billion dollars is eight times larger than it was four years ago; the number of Mexicans on the list of the planet's richest people went from 3 to 24. Our billionaires' fortunes, taken together, would be enough to allow the Mexican peso to be exchanged one to one for the U.S. dollar, since they're 74 percent greater than the country's total international reserves. Their wealth is comparable to 1994 budget outlays for education, health, urban development, ecology and potable water, communications and transport, tourism, security and law enforcement, industry, mining and administration. It's also at least 13 times more than the budget assigned during this presidential term to the National Solidarity Program, designed to combat the extreme poverty that affects more than 18 million inhabitants of this country. Economists have yet to explain the magic formula that made such a rapid multiplication of fortunes possible.

Elsie L. Montiel
Assistant Editor.

Housing and related services

The people of Mexico want to live in decent homes and know how to work to achieve this for their families. This is shown by the fact that 65 percent of the country's housing units were built by the occupants themselves. We will promote construction by residents, supporting grass-roots and neighborhood organizations through long-term direct financing, technical advice on projects and access to building materials. Our challenge is to build and improve 700,000 housing units per year.

In addition, I commit myself to carrying through, as rapidly as possible, the regularization of land tenure in urban areas and providing access to potable water and drainage.

Today, I am signing a commitment that by the year 2000 we will provide potable water to all communities of more than a thousand inhabitants. We will also construct water supply sources in communities of less than a thousand.

By the year 2000 we will also ensure the supply of electric power to all communities of more than 100 inhabitants.

Ernesto Zedillo

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

June 15, 1994

incentive plans based on companies' structure and needs. We will broaden the training program with scholarships and financial support for employed as well as unemployed adults who need to adapt themselves to the use of new production technologies.

To advance, simultaneously, towards more jobs and better health, we will keep an eye on the costs of social-security institutions, demanding greater efficiency. We will also make a big effort to provide social-security benefits to workers who do not presently enjoy them.

A push for education and training for the neediest

We will push forward the growth of basic education, especially in rural areas; we will move forward until all six primary-school grades are available in all locations, and establish secondary-school service in areas where primary education is already fully available. Above all, we will focus on towns which still lack classrooms and teachers. I commit myself to giving a renewed emphasis to Indian education, rural education, and training in the most disadvantaged regions.

We will increase the number of scholarships for children and adolescents from low-income families. My commitment is that by the year 2000 we will provide at least a million and a half scholarships to children from poor communities, certainly making sure that girls benefit from this especially, since girls have the highest drop-out rate from our school system.

Teachers in rural and Indian areas will receive greater incentives and support for housing, basic services and transport, encouraging them to settle in these communities.

We will create a program of education and training for women in disadvantaged areas. The objective will be to provide these services to a million women in the first three years. This program will provide technical training as well as family orientation, prenatal care, nutrition and health coverage.

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

Don't do it, Zedillo; don't jump in that way

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, there was a terribly brave Spanish bullfighter named Reverte, whose way of killing bulls always frightened Mexican audiences. Like most matadors, he would rush in for the kill. But he would leave his chest exposed to the animal as nobody had done before. He was gored several times and —if the memory of my childhood readings does not betray me— a bull killed him here in Mexico City, in 1904.

One day, the silence that fell each time he got ready to jump in and give the *coup de grâce* was broken by a fan who desperately shouted: "Don't do it, Reverte; don't jump in that way!" The audience began chanting this entreaty. From that day on, audiences chanted this each time the matador got ready to deliver the final sword thrust. For many years the phrase was commonly used in the capital when somebody proposed to do something dangerous. That's why I used it as the title of this article.

I was astounded to see that as one of his proposals for getting us out of the current recession, Zedillo offered to further increase Mexico's already-enormous debt. I know the debt is considerably less, in relative terms, than in 1982. But that, in itself, is no reason to increase it now. Once you climb up that slippery slope, you don't know where you're going to end up. The current regime has already had to reindebt itself in order to settle the foreign-trade deficit. Now a plan is afoot to double social spending in order to make up for the lack of private investment. Where are we going to end up?

Either Zedillo didn't have enough confidence in the ideas he put into effect during his three years at the Secretariat of Planning and the Budget, or he has decided to indulge in demagogic rhetoric. Some of my friends defend Zedillo with the explanation that any political campaign requires a considerable dose of demagoguery. My answer is that politicians always run the risk that they will end up believing the things they initially said out of sheer demagogical convenience.

The clearest example was [former president] Luis Echeverría, who started out making some leftist noises and wound up believing he really was a leftist. Luckily he was so busy coming up with new rhetorical forays against those he chose for his enemies that it was only in the last weeks of his administration that he carried out large-scale expropriations, in Sonora. The balance sheet of his term was not as destructive as that of his successor [López Portillo], who began very well indeed.

In any case, Zedillo used the same explanation that Echeverría and López Portillo did when they sank us into debt up to our necks. Both claimed that public spending would be self-financing, that huge subsidies would guarantee stability and improve the people's living standards. They didn't reckon on the inflation, cascading devaluations and, finally, unemployment this spending were to produce.

Large industrial projects carried out purely on the basis of credit take years to generate sufficient resources for servicing the debt they create. In the meantime, interest payments eat them up. An enormous part of the debt we are presently paying consists of interest on loans contracted in order to pay the interest on previous loans.

I would like to acknowledge my own guilt in this issue of indebtedness. From 1954 to 1956 I represented Mexico's Foreign Trade Bank in New York. While my rank was not high enough to allow me to commit the bank one way or the other, I was very proud that during my term our debts to New York banks rose, if memory serves, from 30 to 50 million dollars.

In my fourth reincarnation at that bank, 25 years later, I was general director and, with considerable trepidation, signed international credits for more than a billion dollars—perhaps almost two billion. This was all for unpaid credits that had been granted to large state firms, plus interest, plus new credits for the same firms. In practice, once again, this was compound interest.

Yet by that time, like most finance-sector functionaries, I was frightened by the avalanche of loans, the resulting accumulation of indebtedness weighing on the country, and the public-spending policy we were following. I well remember a conversation with the Secretary of the Treasury in September 1981, during which we speculated privately that if the country somehow managed to get through the rest of that year, the crash would only be postponed to 1982 at the latest. This turned out to be right on the mark; 1982 was the year reality kicked us in the teeth.

I learned my lesson, and I hope we're not running the risk of repeating the sufferings the Mexican people have gone through because of all us "emissaries of the past" who in one way or another were responsible for that disaster. I hope the new generation, which wants to govern us now, will have better luck.

However, it is far from reassuring when the main presidential candidate thinks that he *will* be able to run up debt with impunity. We humans have not managed to understand the forces that govern the economy, nor how and why well-being and growth go through cycles. Still less do we know how to counteract those forces without causing even bigger problems. All we *can* know is what caused slip-ups in the past. For example, we do know that spending a lot more than we earn will definitely do us serious harm.

Adrian Lajous

Summary of an article published
in *Reforma* newspaper, June 17, 1994.

We have a very special commitment to the working woman. We will create new mechanisms to provide her with good day-care centers and good social security and assistance services.

Fiscal policy for investment

I propose that the fiscal authority responsible for executing tax laws, collection and payment be constituted as an autonomous, modern and decentralized institution with functionaries trained in civil service.

Audits should be carried out as rapidly as possible and at the end of any audit the taxpayer should receive a resolution allowing him to go to the courts for a review of the legality of the tax authority's behavior. The Federal Tax Court should have greater independence.

I will promote an ambitious program of reforms to provide a tax framework that will be internationally competitive:

- I will propose a 10 percent reduction in the tax on company assets. A four-year grace period should be established during which new enterprises and new assets would be exempt from this tax. Companies showing a loss in a given fiscal year should be exempted from this tax if they made a profit during one of the preceding three years.
- A measure of great importance and immediate benefit would be allowing more than 80 percent of companies to calculate and pay their taxes four times a year

instead of twelve. We will also simplify procedures in order to reduce their administrative burden.

- I will promote a reform to increase benefits from the immediate investment deduction, extending it to small and medium-size businesses located in the three largest metropolitan areas as well as increasing it in other areas, where it already exists.
- I will propose the introduction of a new fiscal incentive regime so enterprises will devote more resources to workforce training, the adoption of new technologies and investment in anti-pollution equipment.
- With regard to taxes on workers' income, I will propose reforms to simplify calculation and make taxes proportional and equitable.

Promotion of savings and competitive financing for growth

It is unacceptable that our small and medium entrepreneurs face interest rates as high as those in force at the present time. In consolidating macroeconomic stability, we must arrive at a point where there is a one-digit interest rate.

It is also indispensable that brokerage margins be reduced and that there be more deregulation, broadening the variety of financial products and facilitating more companies' access to debt and capital markets.

I will encourage the creation of coverage mechanisms to prevent conjunctural rises in interest rates from directly

Basic health package

I commit myself to ensuring that all low-income families have access to an essential health-services package that will include such services as prenatal and obstetric care, family planning, detection and treatment of infectious diseases, including diarrhea, pneumonia, measles, malaria and sexually-transmitted diseases; anti-parasite and vitamin-supplement programs, educational and information items regarding nutrition, breast-feeding, hygienic habits and reproductive health.

The cost of ensuring that this package is available to the approximately two million families that presently lack these services is estimated at 100 new pesos [the equivalent of about 30 dollars] per person annually, and can be financed through a 10 percent increase in current health spending. By the year 2000 this would result in a more than 50 percent reduction in deaths caused by these diseases in the country's poorest regions.

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

affecting companies' long-term financing costs, as well as increasing development banks' resources and guarantee mechanisms for supporting small and medium enterprise.

It is necessary to promote new institutional and operational mechanisms so that credit will reach the countryside opportunely and at a low price.

Population growth and natural replacement impose the need to build around 700,000 housing units per year. I will push for the reforms necessary to create a secondary mortgage credit market.

Greater deregulation to promote job creation

Deregulation will be extended to all sectors of economic activity, reducing entry barriers for new participants, eliminating exclusive advantages and setting clear and universally-applied rules.

The economy can no longer tolerate the fact that, for example, Mexico City entrepreneurs have to carry out more than one hundred official formalities in order to establish their companies. The policy of deregulation will be accompanied by a deep-going simplification of

Infrastructure and regional development

The contrasts in development levels within our country are considerable. Per capita income in the metropolitan area of Mexico City and its vicinity is between six and seven times more than that of the lowest income states in the southeast of our country.

These substantial differences are reflected in many other indicators: there is a difference of up to eight years in life expectancy and up to four years in average schooling. Low-income states have half the rate of dwellings with running water and one fifth the ratio of doctors to inhabitants as the most developed states.

Our regional development strategy has three aspects. These are: investment in infrastructure, promotion of projects in priority regions and organization of public administration, so that within the framework of the new federalism that I have proposed, greater decision-making powers, prerogatives and resources will be shifted to the states and municipalities.

I propose an unprecedented effort to build expressways, highways, throughways and rural roads to connect low-income regions to the rest of the country, as well as rehabilitation and conservation of rural roads.

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

Ecology and the fight against poverty

Each year, large expanses of forests and jungles little suited to agricultural use are deforested. Cultivation is carried out in the kind of mountainous areas that are highly vulnerable to erosion, as well as semi-arid lands where the soil is rapidly degraded. The result is low incomes, low productivity and environmental damage.

On the other hand, the areas which are best conserved in terms of their natural resources are inhabited by Indian and peasant communities that live in extreme poverty and face serious contradictions between natural resource conservation and their own survival and development.

I propose to carry out a program to help owners of woods and jungles protect, conserve and restore these areas; this is a minimal and well-deserved compensation for the benefits their property provides to all of society. I also propose to regularize land tenancy in critical zones and to promulgate ecological legislation.

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administration and the rationalization of official procedures at all levels of government.

To prevent some companies from obtaining illicit advantages through monopolistic practices, we will actively promote the policy of competition. We will establish follow-up committees which will meet periodically to check on the progress made.

Intermediate inputs and infrastructure for competitiveness

One of the key elements in my economic policy proposal is ensuring domestic producers' access to basic inputs, under conditions of quality and price similar to those of their competitors abroad.

With regard to electricity, we will take advantage of the new options now provided by the legal framework in order to direct public investment to strengthening and improving transmission and distribution, as well as encouraging private participation in generating power.

Maintaining direct state ownership and control of hydrocarbons extracted from the country's territory is a political commitment. Our oil belongs, and will continue to belong, to the Mexican people.

I propose to devote greater budgetary resources to maintaining highways, preventing the deterioration of transport equipment and reducing delivery times. I will encourage greater private participation in construction and

Nutrition for vulnerable population groups

I propose two central measures. The first is to ensure that families living in conditions of critical poverty, in Indian communities, rural areas and low-income urban zones, have access to a basic food basket.

The second is to promote a broad school-breakfast program, taking advantage of Mexico's extensive experience with this socially inspired service. With regard to the first measure, a store of basic food products designed for these families' needs will be distributed through community supply councils.

We have estimated the cost of this basic food basket at 300 new pesos [approximately 90 dollars] a year per family. Our objective is to make this service available to the two million neediest families by the end of this century.

The school-breakfast program will mean providing at least four million breakfasts a day rather than the million and a half currently provided by various government services.

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

Rural development for the most disadvantaged

Rural areas are home to more than 60 percent of our country's poorest inhabitants, principally peasants and day-laborers, many of them Indians.

I propose to consolidate the program of direct supports to agricultural producers (Procampo), which for the first time has provided support to self-sufficient producers and allowed them to acquire their corn and beans at lower prices.

My commitment is that in its definitive stage, Procampo will provide supports at current prices—at least 450 new pesos [approximately 135 dollars] per hectare.¹ This would represent an increase of almost 30 percent over the direct support peasants presently receive.

We will redouble certification efforts so that before the year 2000 all our country's *ejidatarios* and *comuneros*² obtain the certificates and plans stating rights to their plots and common-use lands, as well as titles protecting rights to their family housing lots.

I commit myself to giving a vigorous push to infrastructure. We will concentrate efforts on works of small and medium-size irrigation, drainage, soil leveling, rural roads, transport, warehousing and erosion control.

We have estimated that around 300,000 additional temporary jobs will be generated, which will reduce migratory pressures. To combat unemployment among day-laborers and farmers, my commitment is that infrastructure works will be carried out principally during those months when agricultural activity decreases.

I commit myself to strengthening mechanisms for "no-collateral" credit, which already provides support to about one million producers in seasonal zones with low productivity or high risk.

I propose to support low-income rural producers through a system for rural training, technical assistance, technology transfers and organization.

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

¹ One hectare is equal to 2.471 acres. (Editor's note.)

² *Ejidatarios* are members of the *ejidos*, a kind of collective farm established after the Mexican Revolution. *Comuneros* are members of Indian communities which hold land in common. (Editor's note.)

operation in order to move forward in the broadening of our highway network.

We will undertake a profound transformation of the railway infrastructure, which presently stands in the way of economic performance—a serious pending matter for today's modern Mexico.

My proposal for supporting our domestic producers also includes the rapid modernization of telecommunications, adapting regulation to technological change.

Technological updating for greater productivity

We will create new systems for reducing the risks of investment in the acquisition, adoption and creation of new technology, such as fiscal incentives and plans for sharing risks with development banks. We will promote new forms

of association between enterprises for cooperation on research and development projects.

Just competition with other nations

We will reinforce efforts to do away with the administrative and legal obstacles our products face in international markets. We will strengthen the structure of centers for information, counseling and technical training in foreign trade, in order to support entrepreneurs. We will invigorate Mexico's trade offices abroad in order to identify new market niches and greater business opportunities. We will broaden means for adequate financing in order to promote exports through more effective and flexible guarantee plans and a greater number of credit providers for this sector.

Access to judicial institutions

People who live in rural areas, in isolated communities, have to travel large distances to the cities in order to go to court in defense of their own interests. This means that when they do this, they take time away from their work and incur heavy expenses.

I have committed myself to an overall reform of the justice system. I propose the following measures, among others:

- Substantially increasing the number of tribunals.
- Improving and broadening the functions of institutions that provide free legal aid services, and creating others at tribunals where they do not presently exist.
- Promoting economic incentives for free legal aid offices.
- Carrying out a reform that will simplify trial procedures and produce speedier justice, establishing the means needed for conciliation, even after trials have already begun.
- Promoting an increase in the judicial branch's budget, allowing for the operational modernization of judicial institutions.
- Devoting greater resources to peace-keeping. Providing for an ongoing campaign to inform the population—especially low-income and disadvantaged sectors—of their rights and the means they can use to demand that their rights be fully observed.
- Guaranteeing that in judicial institutions Indians will receive legal advice and translation services.

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

In terms of imports, we will encourage just competition. We will fully apply Mexican legislation in those cases where Mexican producers suffer from disloyal international trade practices. I will guarantee Mexican producers that compensatory taxes will be applied. I will take the measures necessary to prevent the "triangulation" of commodities originating in countries that are not included in the preferential treatment framework. I will complement this with a deep-going restructuring of the country's customs operations.

Development of Mexico's countryside

Productivity in the rural sector is four times less than in the rest of the country's economic activities. I will resolutely support agricultural production. We will give priority to developing the infrastructure, especially small and medium irrigation, drainage, soil levelling, rural roads and erosion-control works.

Rural producers have repeatedly demanded an end to excessive "middle-man-ism." I propose to modernize commercialization schemes in order to facilitate direct transactions between producers and wholesalers, and I will complement this effort with investments in commercialization

Job growth

There is a close connection between the economic strategy which I presented a few days ago and the strategy I am presenting today for the fight against poverty.

We need a vigorous economy which broadens employment opportunities and generates resources for taking care of the most pressing unsatisfied needs of low-income families and communities.

The federal government will work to consolidate sustained economic growth in Mexico.

Commitments for the struggle against poverty

Grass-roots financing

More than half the country's municipalities —mainly the poorest ones— are not served by any bank branches whatsoever. In per capita terms, the highest-income areas receive more than five times as much credit as the poorest regions receive on the average. The disadvantaged population and those who live in poverty find themselves obliged to use informal credit mechanisms, often on very disadvantageous terms.

It is therefore vital that formal credit mechanisms and institutions be made available to disadvantaged areas. This will allow the inhabitants of these areas to deposit their savings, providing them with greater liquidity and greater security for the inheritance they pass on.

I commit myself to designing credit plans and mechanisms that will direct more resources to the poorest regions. I propose the promotion of community savings and loan associations dedicated to the development of low-income communities.

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infrastructure. We will similarly promote the organization of producers in order to strengthen their productive capacity.

For growth that respects the environment

In order to take care of the environment, I will promote economic and financial incentives. I also commit myself to environmental regulation which is clear and gives time frames providing certainty to investment and involving costs which are appropriate for society. At the

same time, official procedures must be simplified without affecting conservation.

It is indispensable to continue efforts for ecological education and to promote society's participation in the development, evaluation and oversight of policies X

Marybel Toro Gayol
Managing Editor.

Foreign policy

On July 26, Ernesto Zedillo presented his ten-point foreign policy plan:

1. Strengthening sovereignty, the guiding principle in foreign policy.
2. Ensuring a more just and productive international participation.
3. Safeguarding the labor and human rights of Mexicans in U.S. territory. Supporting the broadening of NAFTA.
4. Political cooperation and commercial integration with Latin America. "We cannot ignore the persistence of the blockade of Cuba."
5. Diversification of international relations.
6. Strengthening of multilateral institutions. Promoting the restructuring of the United Nations Security Council.
7. Creating an agenda for development. Combating poverty and illiteracy, paying attention to health and demographic growth.
8. A direct attack on drug trafficking. Calling a large-scale international conference as a first step in coordinating efforts.
9. Projecting Mexican culture on an international scale. Calling on writers, artists and artisans to contribute to international cultural exchange.
10. An integrated approach to foreign policy. Reinforcing strategic diplomatic and consular locations.

Candidates shatter myths at UNAM

The presence of the three major presidential candidates at *UNAM* (representing the PRI, PAN and PRD) provided further proof of the intensity of the political campaign then underway in Mexico. For several decades, the university was ignored by political and electoral campaigners of any stripe. The university left was predominant and PRI or PAN sympathizers were likely to be ridiculed or rejected until a short time ago.

The PRI, uninterruptedly in power for the past 65 years, had not shown any interest in waging an overt political campaign at *UNAM*. This may have been due to their confidence in the elections that, until the 1988 presidential race, had always been won by the official party and its candidates. Thus they could afford not to woo student voters at a university that was traditionally a stronghold of the opposition, particularly the left.¹

The PAN also kept away from the country's largest university until the recent political campaign, when it decided to trade its image as an elitist, conservative party with a marked tendency towards right-wing political ideas for that of an open, democratic party interested in promoting pluralism and the free discussion of ideas.

The PRD was the only party that had previously visited *UNAM* for campaign purposes. This was in 1988 during the bid for the presidency by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who had the support of various political organizations, including representatives from the major Mexican left-wing groups, and PRI members who had decided to leave the PRI after setting up the so-called Democratic Tendency.²

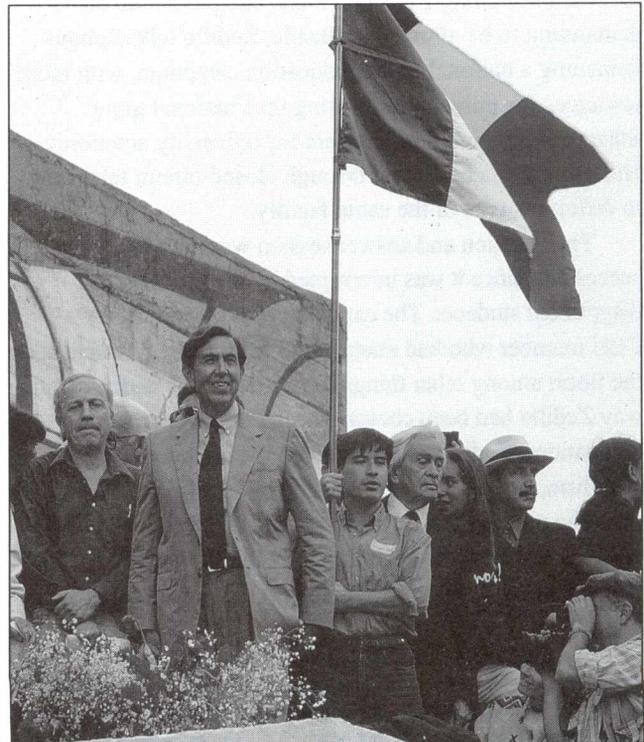
¹ The specter of the events of 1968, when President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz ordered the occupation of *UNAM*—violating the principle of university autonomy and provoking the outrage of thousands of students throughout the country—also weighed on the official government party. Luis Echeverría Álvarez, Díaz Ordaz' successor, suffered an unpleasant experience a few years later when he arrived at *UNAM* to inaugurate the academic year and was pelted with stones by students enraged by his presence.

² Following the 1988 elections, the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) was formed by the majority of these groups. It should be noted that, to avoid legal formalities, the Mexican Socialist Party, which included the bulk of the Mexican left, turned its electoral registration over to the new party, with which it merged, putting an end to the traditional independent political presence of the left in Mexico.

During his visit, Cárdenas received the spontaneous support of thousands of students in what is still remembered as one of the highlights of his political campaign. This gave rise to the myth that the country's most important university was the exclusive province of Cárdenas (and by extension the PRD).

In view of this, the visits by Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (PRI) on May 24, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano (PRD) on June 8 and Diego Fernández de Cevallos (PAN) on June 15 were not just campaign events to win votes, but deliberate attempts to demystify the country's largest and most important academic forum.³ Each visit was judged a success or failure according to the particular

³ According to 1993 data, 77,287 students are enrolled in bachelor's degree programs and 12,445 in master's programs on the main *UNAM* campus.



Cárdenas urged his audience to vote and respect the vote.

standpoint of the candidates, their advisors, followers and of course their opponents.

The PRI candidate came off worst in this contest, even though his visit took place in a closed building with restricted access and was so discreetly staged that not even the mass media were given prior notice of the event (*La Jornada*, May 25). According to his campaign team, Zedillo visited *UNAM* on the invitation of two students, university board members from the Accounting and Administration Faculty (regarded as one of the least politically-active departments at *UNAM*). A month earlier, these two students had approached Zedillo in a café during one of his campaign visits to the provinces.

The event was organized and supervised by presidential staff members responsible for the PRI candidate's security. Few students knew the event would be held; many found out about it only the day before. This did not prevent the news from reaching such faculties such as Economics, Philosophy and Literature and Political Sciences, bastions of the University Student Council (CEU), an organization with political links to the PRD.

The visit began at 9:15 a.m. when the Carlos Pérez del Toro Auditorium, with a seating capacity of approximately 700, had been filled to the limit and entry was no longer permitted.⁴ Outside, groups of students from various faculties, including CEU members, banged on the doors demanding to be allowed in. Inside, Zedillo talked about launching a national higher education campaign, with more resources for universities, setting up a national grant scheme and maintaining respect for university autonomy. His speech was broadcast through closed-circuit television to different areas of the same faculty.

The question and answer session was not very successful, since it was interrupted by the shouts of disgruntled students. The candidate was questioned by a CEU member who had managed to force his way in and take the floor; among other things, he criticized the undemocratic way Zedillo had been chosen as candidate. Ignoring the accusations, Zedillo commented on the importance of pluralism, respect and participation by all Mexicans.

The meeting ended amidst applause from the audience, who rated the event successful. Yet Zedillo's exit was far from triumphal, since he was forced to leave through a

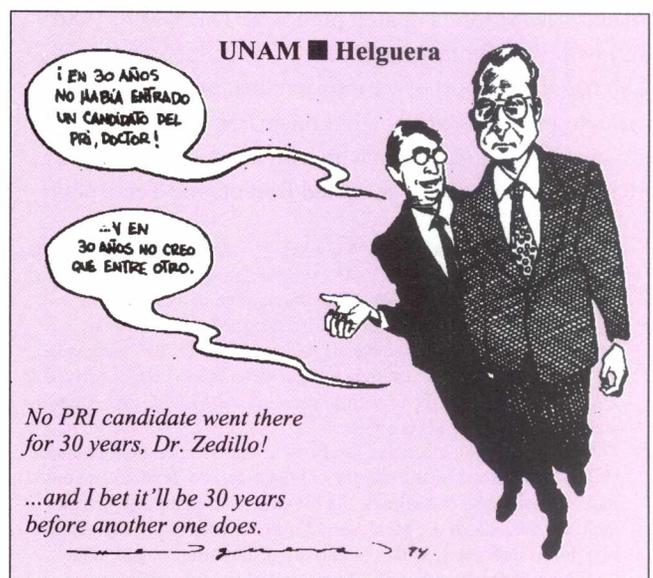
different exit, surrounded by his bodyguards, who led him to a different car in the midst of insults, shouts, stones and bottles being hurled at him. According to *La Jornada* (May 25), what remained after Zedillo's departure was "the anger of a group of students who had failed to get in, the rejection of violent methods by other university students, and the satisfaction of the organizers, in whose view the university had recovered its pluralism and destroyed taboos."

CEU representatives later denied responsibility for the violence. Arguing that most of the student protesters were not CEU members, they accused security forces of beating some students and violating university autonomy, since they had been carrying weapons.

For Zedillo and his team, the *UNAM* visit was a spectacular coup. The candidate expressed his satisfaction: "I think we have crossed a threshold. I am the first PRI presidential candidate to have visited this campus during a campaign, and I think, as university students told me themselves, that this has meant a break with a past of intolerance, a past in which a minority infringed on the majority's rights" (*La Jornada*, May 27).

The PAN and PRD candidates declared that the attacks on the PRI had done little to foster a democratic and pluralistic climate, even though a number of PRD spokesmen stated that the PRI had not judged its terrain very carefully, since the protests testified to students' rejection of the official party.

UNAM Rector José Sarukhán expressed regret over the events, attributing them to a "group" characterized by intolerance, which is "something that ought not to exist at the university, which has always been a forum



⁴ According to *La Jornada*, the organizers asked those students who had managed to find a seat to write their name, address, department and *UNAM* account number on a blank sheet of paper. These were placed in a transparent ballot box, out of which the names of those who could ask the candidate questions were randomly drawn.

characterized by tolerance, openness and plurality.” Dr. Sarukhán said he had been told of the visit only the previous weekend and had placed *UNAM*'s unarmed security force, generally used at this type of events, at the candidate's disposal.

Cuahtémoc Cárdenas was the next candidate to visit *UNAM*. In his case, no physical or verbal violence was expected; people were merely eager to see whether student support for the PRD candidate had increased or decreased. The rally was announced well ahead of time, with banners, graffiti and newspapers ads. It was emphasized that Cárdenas would deliver his speech in an open area (the esplanade in front of the administration building), where the candidate could be seen and heard by everyone.

Unlike in 1988, PRD sympathizers made a great effort to achieve a massive audience, since the event was vital for the embattled candidate, who seemed to be losing support under the attacks of a mass media intent on portraying his campaign as moribund after his poor performance during the presidential debate held on May 12.

Cárdenas read a sixteen-page speech in which he offered free education at all levels, urged his audience to vote and respect the vote, attacked social inequality and called for a just policy for Indian groups, etc.

However, the most significant aspect of the rally was apparently its size. There was considerable disagreement over the turnout. At one extreme, PRD sympathizers calculated the number at 75,000 (almost the entire undergraduate population at *UNAM*), while the television network Televisa seemed to confirm Cárdenas' earlier accusations that it lacks impartiality: on *24 Horas*, its main newscast, it reported an attendance of fewer than five thousand.⁵

Other reporters and attendees agreed on 15,000 as the most likely figure. In any case, the event was judged a resounding success by PRD followers, while political commentators agreed that it had given Cárdenas' campaign the shot in the arm it needed.

Not to be outdone, Diego Fernández de Cevallos decided to take advantage of his adversaries' experience. He issued an open invitation to the university community to attend his rally and decided to face the consequences of “violating” the forum previously reserved for Cárdenas by addressing his audience from the esplanade outside the administration building.

The result was a large turnout—smaller than for Cárdenas, according to the PRD and its sympathizers; the



Edel Cárdena.

“UNAM is not a Cardenista arena but a forum for freedom of thought” —PAN sympathizers.

same size or larger, according to the PAN. Many agreed that the audience would have been smaller if Fernández de Cevallos' opponents had stayed away.

During his speech, the PAN candidate was pelted with eggs, one of which hit him in the face, staining his clothes and the speech he was reading. Recovering his composure and appealing for order, he quoted a literary phrase: “The wounds received during a campaign bestow more honor than dishonor.”

In their assessment of the event, PAN sympathizers stressed that its main achievement had been to show that “*UNAM* is not a Cardenista arena but a forum for freedom of thought” (*La Jornada*, June 16). Once again, violence and intolerance were unanimously condemned, while the CEU and PRD denied any involvement.

Paradoxically, the fact that Cárdenas was able to enter and leave *UNAM* unharmed simplified the meaning of the attacks, to such an extent that his opponents tried to make Cárdenas and his sympathizers responsible for the attacks on the other two candidates.

Yet it appears that at the end of the battle the true victims were *UNAM*'s students, since they were reduced to mere numbers for measuring the candidates' drawing power in this closely-fought battle for the presidency **M**

Elsie L. Montiel
Assistant Editor.

⁵ Viewers were unable to draw their own conclusions, since the cameras only showed Cárdenas reading his speech.

Surprising elections

Presidential elections were held in Mexico on August 21. While there had been few doubts that Ernesto Zedillo —candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)— would win, the expectation was that the race would be much closer. The high percentage of votes in his favor surprised everyone.

What happened? Could it be that millions of Mexicans who live in poverty want things to stay the same? Were they afraid of change, preferring to follow the popular saying that “An evil you know is better than a good thing you don’t” —thereby giving the PRI the chance to complete 71 years in power? Was it a reprieve? Was the popular will respected?

The PRI’s victory should not be interpreted as a seal of approval for the status quo. In surveys carried out shortly before the elections, people who said they would vote for the PRI stated their dissatisfaction with the economic situation and social insecurity.

The first problem that occurred during the vote had to do with the special polling places, which were designed to serve people in transit (the elections were held during school vacations). The 300 ballots assigned to each special polling place ran out very quickly, which provoked the anger of many citizens who were unable to vote.

There were many denunciations alleging that some organized bodies affiliated to the government were transported in groups, so they could vote early on at these polling stations, using up many of the ballots.

Regarding this question, Miguel Angel Granados Chapa, political columnist and citizen advisor to the Federal Elections Institute (IFE), wrote in *Reforma* newspaper (August 22): “It was surprising to many that the ballots ran out at such an early hour; the first reports of [special] polling stations that were in this situation came in shortly after noon. A mechanical calculation suggests that it would have been necessary that one citizen vote each minute, without interruption, in order for the supply to run out in five hours.” This is without counting the fact that many polling booths took more time to be installed and, therefore, opened late to voters —the polls were supposed to operate from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Noting that he was also surprised by the preliminary figures in favor of the PRI, Granados Chapa (this time in his column of August 25) enumerated several causes that combined to contribute to the spectacular effect: “An electorate that shares the PRI’s programs and votes for that party; gratitude for the National Solidarity Program

(Pronasol) and Procampo,¹ translating into votes; the role television plays in Mexico in favor of the PRI’s cause and against the formation of a consciousness that would hope for a better world.”

The conclusions of the 150 foreign observers who participated in the “Forum of Testimony” —out of the more than 400 invited by the Civic Alliance, who were sent to 20 states of the Mexican republic— summed up the irregularities they found in the electoral process:

- Mexicans voted under pressure from government officials and organizations affiliated to the PRI, as well as the sale of benefits from government programs. Millions of citizens were affected by these pressures.
- The PRI had an enormous advantage in campaign coverage, despite mechanisms established to limit this.
- The PRI had an advantage in coverage given by pro-government media, above all television.
- The secrecy of the ballot was systematically violated in 34% of the polling stations observed, and in 17% voters were pressured by one or another political party.
- 65% of the observers reported that many citizens who had their voter identification cards were not allowed to vote because they did not appear on the voters’ list.
- There were many irregularities in the use of the indelible ink that was to be applied to each voter’s thumb: 7% of the observers reported that the ink was not used on all voters, 8% reported that polling-station officials allowed people to vote without applying the ink, and 7% found that the ink could be erased.
- More than 10% of the Civic Alliance observers reported at least one case of people being allowed to vote who did not appear on the list of eligible voters.

Demetrio Sodi de la Tijera, who resigned from the PRI some months before the elections, wrote in *La Jornada* (August 26) that the PAN and the PRD² were fighting not against another party but rather “against the professional electoral structure of the PRI, which was financed with government resources during the six years of this administration; against the government, the president, the governors and the majority of municipal presidents [mayors]; against the resources, pressures and threats of Mexico’s big businessmen; against the mass media which concealed information and discredited the opposition.” He

¹ Government public works and farmer support programs.

² The opposition National Action Party and Party of the Democratic Revolution, respectively.

warned that if a national political reform is not carried out, guaranteeing fair play and clean elections, there will be the risk that millions of Mexicans will conclude that the electoral path is not the road to change.

Reactions from the opposition

The PAN candidate for president, Diego Fernández de Cevallos—who became a favorite after his outstanding performance in his debate with PRI candidate Zedillo and PRD candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (see *Voices of Mexico* No. 28, pp. 84-98)—received a high percentage of votes. He thereby regained his party’s position as the country’s number two electoral force—a position which had previously been taken away from it by the alliance of parties that supported Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in 1988.

Nevertheless, many were surprised by the press conference Fernández de Cevallos and PAN head Carlos Castillo Peraza gave, in which they recognized the PRI’s victory only eight hours after the polls had closed, when results had come in from 5,258 polling stations.

Three days after the vote, one of the PAN’s most distinguished members, Vicente Fox Quesada,³ went so far as to declare: “I am reluctant to believe that Diego Fernández de Cevallos is accepting this election as clean and I am against him remaining silent, because remaining silent means endorsing this [electoral] process, which can in no way be considered just and transparent.”

³ Candidate for governor of the state of Guanajuato in the 1991 elections. While this vote supposedly resulted in a victory for the PRI candidate, the rejection expressed by the people of Guanajuato towards what they considered to be an electoral fraud led to the resignation of the governor-elect and the designation of PAN member Carlos Medina Plascencia as interim governor.

Also noteworthy is the setback the PAN received in the states where it had governorships—Baja California, Chihuahua and Guanajuato—where the PRI stated it had won the vote. Fox Quesada commented that none of the three PAN governors could accept the validity of this election, “in which the government presented the vote as society’s rejection of PAN governments.”

But the PRD got the worst surprise. While it obtained a good percentage of the votes, the figure was much lower than expected and, as mentioned above, the party went from being the second to being the third electoral force.

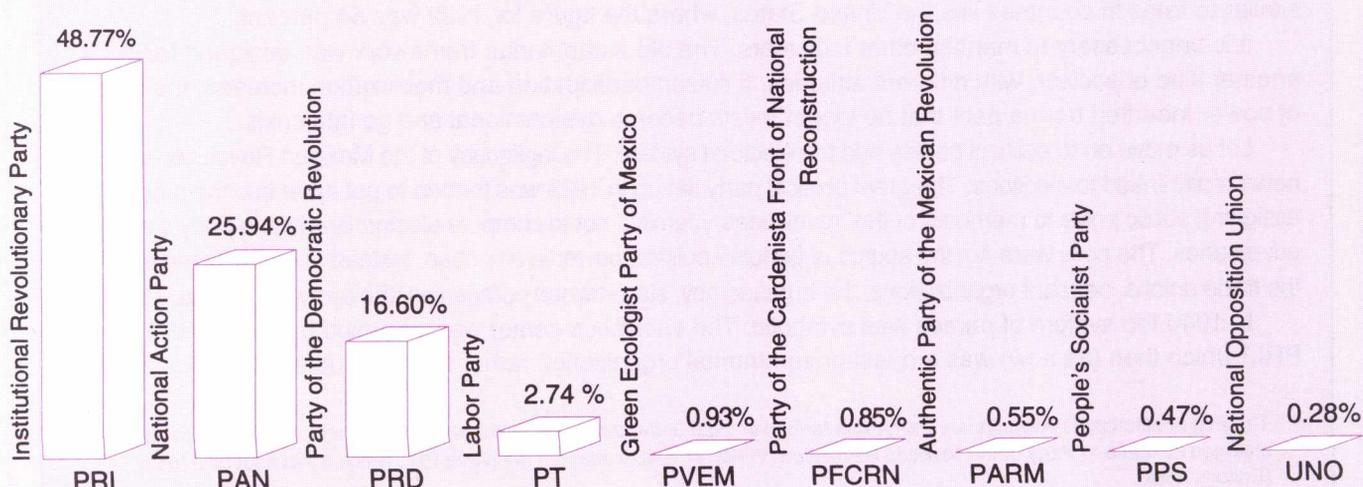
Expressing an opposite position from that of Fernández de Cevallos, on election day—after the first voting trends, favorable to the PRI, had been announced—Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas gave his own press conference, where he stated that he had information from other surveys, which favored him.

Two days later, without proclaiming himself victor in the race, he said that the results were not credible and that he was therefore issuing a call to “clean up or annul the presidential election.” On August 27, at a rally in Mexico City’s Zócalo (central plaza) which was attended by 100,000 supporters—65,000 according to the government’s figures—Cárdenas changed his party’s strategy. He did not call for mobilizations, rallies or *plantones*.⁴ Instead he called for joining forces to achieve a “great national dialogue,” but later he changed his mind.

He stressed: “We do not seek power at any price. We do not want violence. Our paths will continue to be those of civic action and peace. These are times for keeping alert and

⁴ *Plantones* are sit-down (or camp-out) protests in the streets or in front of government offices. The “government-party regime” means the rule of a party with official status as *the* ruling party.

Final results of the presidential elections



Source: Federal Elections Institute (IFE).

A new political consciousness in Mexico

The political system which is presently coming to an end acquired its basic characteristics a little more than half a century ago. These have been: an extreme, clear-cut "presidentialism," blocking any kind of division of powers whether by function or by territory; an omnipresent official government party; opposition parties whose existence has been more formal than real; and the predominance of an undemocratic, clientele-oriented civic culture tending to leave politics with a big "P" to the "professionals."

The conditions in which this system reached maturity have gradually changed. Yet time after time, the political system itself has resisted change. The problems of adapting the political to the social built up, to the point that they became dysfunctions making it impossible to process demands and conflicts as efficiently as in years gone by.

For some time now, the kind of society that fomented "clientelism" and non-participation by the citizenry has been in retreat. In some regions it no longer exists at all.

The Mexico which gave rise to the authoritarianism of the '30s, and over which that authoritarianism asserted itself, was predominantly rural. In 1940 only 3.9 million people, 20% of the population, lived in towns of more than 15,000 inhabitants, and there were less than fifty such towns in all. By 1960 the urban population had almost doubled, reaching 36.5% of the total population, and the number of cities had risen to 123.

Today in the '90s, at least 61% of Mexicans live in urban areas. The agrarian culture which gave birth to Mexico's corporatist, government-party system has almost disappeared.

Many other indicators testify to the changes in Mexican society —changes which affect the relations of the populace with the "Supreme Government." In 1940, for example, more than half the reading-age population could not read or write: 56.5%, to be exact. Today, illiteracy stands at only 12.6 percent. 86.6% of Mexicans of school age or older have received some kind of formal education. This means they are less defenseless vis à vis the government.

This more educated population has greater access to the media and to news about the "third democratic wave." In 1985, 96% of homes had access to radio and 73% to television. Despite undeniable distortions in the news and the low circulation of the daily press, the cultural isolation in which most Mexicans lived in 1940 was broken some time ago.

Against the system's grain, political participation is on the rise. More than half of those registered voted in the 1988 elections. While there are higher figures for some previous elections, those figures are simply not credible, since the elections involved were carried out with no competition facing the PRI and no observation of the voting process. In any case, a voter participation level of 50%, while low, is quite similar to rates in countries like the United States, where the figure for 1992 was 54 percent.

It is unnecessary to mention other indicators. The old authoritarian framework was designed for another kind of society, with different attitudes. If citizen participation and mobilization increase, the forms of power inherited from a past that no longer exists become dysfunctional and go into crisis.

Let us move on to political parties and the electoral system. The legitimacy of the Mexican Revolution was never really linked to elections. The great political party set up in 1929 was formed to put order into the process of assigning public posts to members of the "revolutionary family," not to compete electorally with the party's weak adversaries. The polls were not the source of genuine political power in any case. Instead power was based on the trade unions, peasant organizations, the bureaucracy, state-owned companies, the army and police, etc.

In 1940 the system of parties was symbolic. The enormous center was occupied by the PNR/PRM/PRI,¹ which then (as now) was a quasi-governmental organization rather than an authentic political party.

¹ The PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) was formed in 1929 under the name Revolutionary National Party (PNR). In 1938 it changed its name to Party of the Mexican Revolution (PRM); in 1946 it adopted the name PRI, which it has kept until today. (Editor's note.)

On the left was a revolutionary party, the Mexican Communist Party, which had little interest in electoral processes but lacked the proletarian and peasant base it would have needed to attempt the seizure of power. On the right was the PAN (National Action Party), which for many years thereafter functioned more as a pressure group than as a party.

Starting in 1988 this situation changed, and the change was extraordinary. Today the electoral opposition is no longer merely symbolic.

A system of parties revolving around the PRI is no longer functional for a Mexico which seeks to be seen, both domestically and abroad, as a country with a modern system, whose economic plans require stability more clearly than ever before.

The disagreeable possibility that politics may once again be conducted by other, violent means was posed in 1994 with the rise of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation and other forces which question, or outright reject, electoral politics.

The final element is "presidentialism." By 1940 the axis of political organization had ceased to be the *caudillo*-president—such as Juárez, Díaz, Carranza and Obregón; his place had been taken by the institution of the presidency as such. This in itself represented a big step toward political modernization.

Unfortunately, due to tradition and historical circumstances—backwardness, in international terms—the concentration of power in the presidency came to be seen as something natural. Only through this presidential power would it be possible to make up for lost time and direct the country's energies toward economic modernization. As during the Porfirio Díaz era, a defect was made into a virtue.

For a period of time, this concentration of power—which obliterated any division or balance of power and made democracy impossible—seemed to function quite well. Mexico had the most stable system in Latin America, and from 1940 to 1976 its economic growth was enviable. Yet when the economy began having problems, the presidency—as the institution most responsible for "macro" processes—rapidly began to lose prestige, credibility and legitimacy.

The 1982 economic crisis was a political catastrophe for the presidency, and the dubious results of the 1988 elections did nothing to improve the situation. In an audacious effort to regain and restructure presidential power, Carlos Salinas decided to take over direct control of all the key processes in the country.

As Rogelio Hernández aptly points out (in *Estudios Mexicanos*, Winter 1994), to recover power and control the president had to weaken some of the presidency's auxiliary instruments: the cabinet (in which a total of almost a hundred changes were made during the Salinas years), the governorships (17 changes), the large corporatist organizations (in particular the trade unions and the National Peasant Federation), the government party (the National Solidarity Program, instead of the PRI, was now the great middleman for the interests of the people).

When the armed rebellion in Chiapas and the assassination of the PRI's presidential candidate brought the process of reconstructing authoritarian presidentialism to an abrupt halt, it became clear that the weakening of the presidency's network of auxiliary institutions—strong governors, strong secretaries of state, strong unions, etc.—had left the president in a very vulnerable position indeed.

In conclusion, between 1988 and 1994 the authoritarian presidency reached the limit of its possibilities. It can be reconstructed, but only at enormous cost. What is politically and morally viable is to construct another, democratic type of presidency.

Lorenzo Meyer

Summary of article in *Reforma* newspaper, July 7, 1994

The election in figures

Voters and polling stations

- Citizens with voter ID cards: 45,729,000 (86%)
- Votes cast: 35,550,283 (77.74%)
- Votes annulled: 1,000,782 (2.82%)
- Valid votes: 34,549,501
- Polling stations installed: 96, 395
- Special polling stations: 687

Posts that were up for election

- Senators: 96
- Parliamentary deputies: 500
- Members of Assembly of Representatives: 66
- State where the governor was elected on August 21: Chiapas, where PRI candidate Eduardo Robledo Rincón was declared the winner.

active in the defense of legality and the push for democracy, but they are also times for reviewing and reformulating our commitments and objectives for work and struggle.”

He said that in participating in the elections “under the conditions in which we have done so, we already know what happens: with voters or without voters, the government apparatus wins. We will not vote again unless it is in genuine elections.”

For his part, on August 24 IFE General Director Arturo Núñez stated that the inconsistencies that occurred in approximately 11,000 polling stations stood in the way of reporting complete preliminary results. In response, the PRD accused the electoral authorities of delaying the figures in order to “manipulate” them.

The lateness in reporting final election figures, as well as the PRI’s overwhelming victory, detracted from the credibility of what we were endlessly told would be “Mexico’s cleanest and most transparent elections.”

Observers, both domestic and foreign, oversaw the voting process, but who oversaw the IFE when it drew up the voters’

lists, designed the computing system and counted the results? So that there will be no room for suspicions of “cybernetic fraud” in future elections, the entire electoral process must be in the hands of civil society rather than the government.

Proposals have also been aired to adopt a two-round voting system to assure more democracy, genuinely separate the PRI from the government so that electoral races will be more equitable and fair, and have the forces involved in elections wait until definitive results are announced before they begin making declarations as winners and losers.⁵

What is most important is to analyze the errors that have been committed, in order to avoid them in the future. ✕

Marybel Toro Gayol
Managing Editor.

⁵ The other six presidential candidates joined in the rush to recognize the victory of the PRI. It is worth mentioning that only one of them, Cecilia Soto of the Labor Party (PT), received enough votes to retain the public financing given to political parties. The other five parties have lost this financing and, if they fail to receive at least 1.5% of the votes in the next federal elections, will lose their electoral registration.

The role of radio and TV in the elections

On August 15 an extraordinary meeting was held between the Secretariat of the Interior (Gobernación) and the National Chamber of the Radio and Television Industry (CNIRT), after which the Chamber forbade all of the countries’ broadcast media from airing special election-coverage programs.

The CNIRT instructed radio stations to cancel the special programs they had announced, which were to provide continual information on the voting process, and to install “filters” on stories they received from their reporters, in order to “prevent manipulation by groups or parties.”

The only preliminary figures which could be broadcast were those announced by the CNIRT itself, despite the fact that other organizations —such as the Coparmex business association— also carried out exit polls, or quick counts such as the one made by the Civic Alliance.

Topping it all off was the suspension of transmissions from the U.S. Univision, ABC and CBS chains, as well as KTL from Los Angeles. This suspension was carried out by the Cablevisión cable TV system —a subsidiary of the Televisa network, which is owned by Emilio Azcárraga, who has publicly proclaimed himself a “soldier of the PRI”— in order to control the flow of information on the vote. For its part, the other cable TV system (Multivisión) suspended CNN transmissions —for the same reason.

Bits & pieces

Carlos Fuentes awarded. In Paris, Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes was awarded UNESCO's Picasso Prize for his contributions to popularizing Spanish culture. During the ceremony Fuentes gave a remarkable lecture—entitled "Baroque, the Founding Art of the New World"—in which he stressed that Latin America's magnificent cultural potential contrasts with its economic and political difficulties, and called for a revision of the concept of modernity—which until now has involved the destruction of forms of knowledge and relations with nature—in order to build a multicultural world with roots in new forms of *mestizaje*.

FotoFest. The fifth biennial FotoFest will be held in Houston, Texas, from November 10-30. This international photography festival is held in high esteem in the United States because of its innovative, artistic character. This year, the works of 39 contemporary artists will be shown in an exhibit devoted to three themes: "The Global Environment"; "Fashion: Orthodox and Unorthodox"; and "American Voices: Latino/Chicano/Hispanic Photography in the U.S."

American Voices is a show which, for the first time, brings together the broadest photographic work of a generation that arose from the immigration of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans to the United States. The exhibit is a joint effort by historians, curators and photographers to show the daily life of a new culture which is acquiring its own voice in the United States.

A bit of breathing room for Cuba. Canada renewed its human aid and development programs for Cuba, which it had suspended 16 years ago due to the Caribbean country's involvement in the Angola war. Canada and Mexico are the only countries in the Americas which never broke diplomatic and trade ties with the island despite the 1959 victory of the revolutionary movement led by Fidel Castro. Canadian officials came out for encouraging peaceful political change in Cuba while stating that the U.S.-imposed embargo, rather than producing a change of regime, has brought the Cuban population to a state of stagnation.

Interests, Power and Income Distribution in Highly Asymmetrical International Economic Relations: Mexican Relations with the United States and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

Eduardo Margáin

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
George Washington University
Washington, D.C., 1994.

This study seeks to determine why Mexico's foreign economic policy changed from a considerable level of protectionism to

policies of free trade and investment. This drastic change reflects the interests of an increasingly powerful transnational coalition that includes governments of industrial nations, multinational corporations and the international financial community, allied with a small outward-oriented, Mexican elite group that supports the "neo-liberal" adjustment conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The transnational coalition prevailed because the Mexican state—as well as unorganized domestic-oriented sectors—had lost power as a consequence of the country's increasing commercial, technological and financial dependence. This became evident during the 1982 debt crisis and the persistent liquidity shortages of the long-drawn-out adjustment period. Such a pattern is evidence of the applicability of "dependency theory."

As bankruptcy and internal pressures from transnational "domestic" groups drastically reduced its bargaining position, Mexico faced the difficult choice between retrenchment or facing an international economic blockade.

Mexico's high levels of elite consumerism and inefficiency caused expanding current account deficits and a growing need for foreign capital inflow. Expanded payments to foreign enterprises, together with further decapitalization, led Mexico into successively deeper cycles of dependence and denationalization.

The power of Mexican players, relative to foreign ones, has consequently declined. This has encouraged the transnationalization of Mexico's interest groups and the fragmentation of its elite, further eroding bargaining power.

The policies of adjustment and openness imposed on Mexico by the IMF have damaged the nation's infrastructure and productive capacity, exacerbated income polarization and worsened poverty, unemployment, and social pressures. They have also stimulated further consumerism by the upper classes and promoted foreign investment that sustains an overvalued peso and growing current account deficits, signifying further denationalization and dependence.

Given Mexico's extremely low relative bargaining power, NAFTA "negotiations" are characterized here as unequal. This may lead to political instability in Mexico, disrupting the trade agreement.

NAFTA could be positive for Mexico. But this would require cohesion within the elite, social solidarity, and government policies that would reverse current proclivities toward consumerism and expand investment in human and physical resources, through higher domestic savings in order to improve social capitalization and efficiency. Social coherence and domestic savings are the fundamental factors for expanding development and external bargaining power **M**

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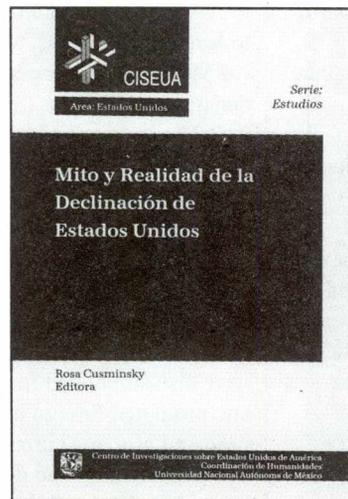
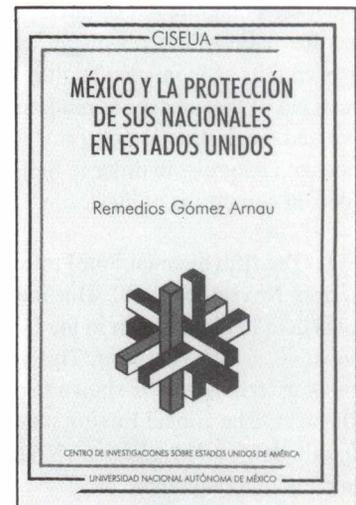
Mónica C. Gambrell y Bárbara Driscoll de Alvarado (eds.), 1992, 283 pp.

This book analyzes the likely impact of NAFTA on: the energy industry, agriculture, geographical regions, in-bond industry; labor rights, immigration to the U.S., social classes, democracy, diplomatic relations, telecommunications and higher education. NAFTA is considered in light of other trade agreements, U.S. economic requirements and political processes.



México y la protección de sus nacionales en Estados Unidos

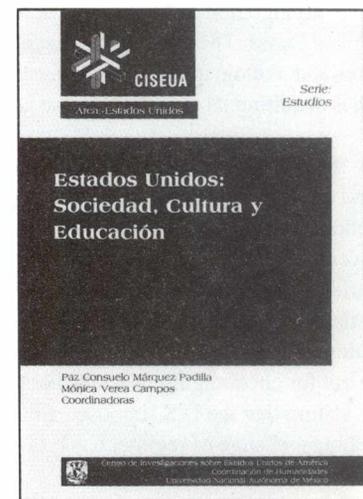
Remedios Gómez Arnau, 1990, 245 pp. A chronicle of the Mexican government's efforts to protect the rights of Mexican migrant workers in the United States. An impressive study that sheds new light on the issue. Recommended for experts and non-experts in U.S.- Mexican relations and human rights.



Mito y realidad de la declinación de los Estados Unidos

Rosa Cusminsky Mogilner (ed.), Serie: Estudios, 1992, 180 pp.

This book contains the contributions of lecturers from various countries who participated in the seminar "The Myth and Reality of the Decline of the United States of America," on the present academic debate about the crisis of the United States' hegemony.



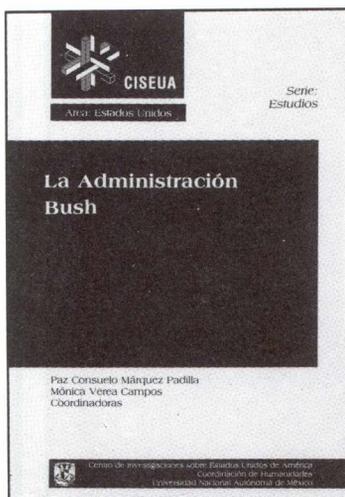
Estados Unidos: sociedad, cultura y educación

Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla, Mónica Vereá Campos (coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 177 pp.

Thirteen Mexican and U.S. specialists analyze from different perspectives the socio-cultural components of the U.S. as a rich mosaic of cultures and their main forms of expression, the complex social fabric, and the highly-debated U.S. education system.

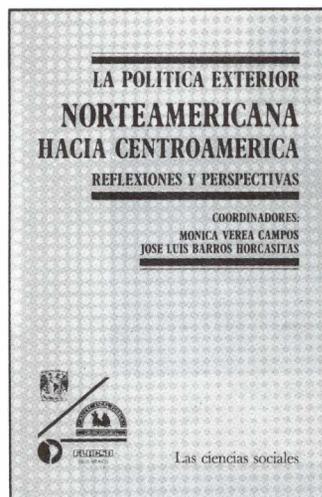
La administración Bush

Mónica Vereá Campos, Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla (coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 210 pp.
Fifteen Mexican and U.S. specialists examine the main events of the first year of the Bush administration. This includes studies on minorities, arms control, the war on drugs, the economic crisis, foreign policy, and the North American Free Trade Agreement.



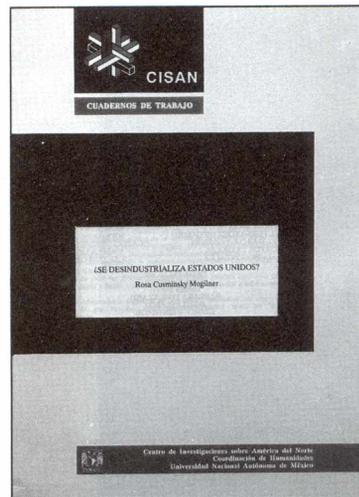
La política exterior norteamericana hacia Centroamérica:

reflexiones y perspectivas
Mónica Vereá Campos y José Luis Barros Horcasitas, FLACSO, CISEUA-UNAM, Editorial Miguel Angel Porrúa, Serie: Las Ciencias Sociales, 1991, 442 pp.
This book contains various articles written by North American and Central American specialists regarding the role of the United States in Central America's recent history.



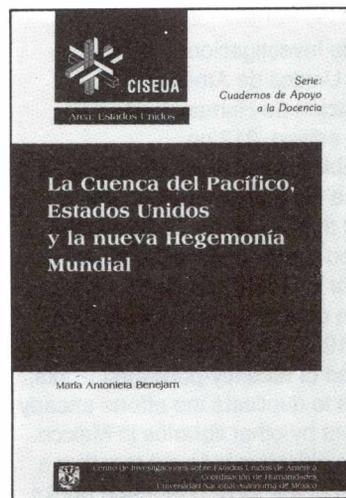
¿Se desindustrializa Estados Unidos?

Rosa Cusminsky Mogilner, Serie: Cuadernos de Trabajo, 1993, 139 pp.
Fears relating to the industrial decline of the United States are associated with questions about the ability of the U.S. to maintain its position of influence and world leadership.
This book summarizes current debates on whether U.S. industry has ceased to be competitive.



Implicaciones jurídicas de la apertura comercial

José J. de Olloqui, Serie: Documentos, 1991, 42 pp.
An in-depth analysis of legal issues concerning free trade. Olloqui examines trade and legal developments under President Salinas' administration, within the framework of the Mexican Constitution, trade in Mexico, the internationalization of the financial system and other topics of interest.



La Cuenca del Pacífico, Estados Unidos

y la nueva hegemonía mundial
Ma. Antonieta Benejam, Serie: Cuadernos de Apoyo a la Docencia, 1991, 106 pp.
A book on the leading role played by the United States in the geopolitical processes of the Pacific Rim countries, a region of decisive importance to the future World Order.



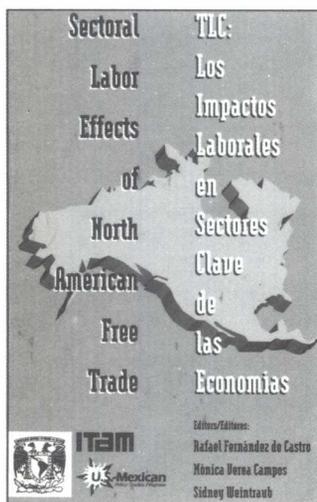
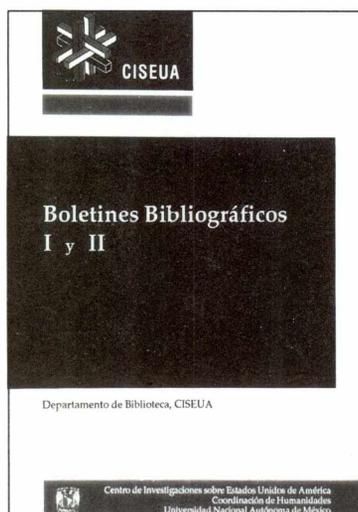
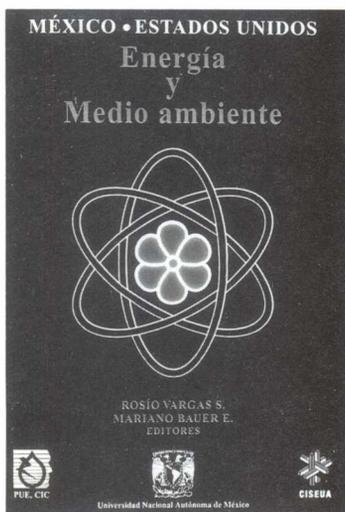
Arte chicano como cultura de protesta

Sylvia Gorodezky, 1993, 169 pp.
An incisive analysis of how Chicanos give artistic expression to the effects of the social and political oppression they experience within "mainstream" society. Includes photographs of key murals, sculptures and other works of art.

México-Estados Unidos. Energía y medio ambiente

Rosío Vargas and Mariano Bauer (eds.), 1993, 259 pp.

An overview of Mexican and American environmental legislation as well as its social, political and economic implications in the context of NAFTA. Also analyzes the relation between energy policy and environment in both countries.

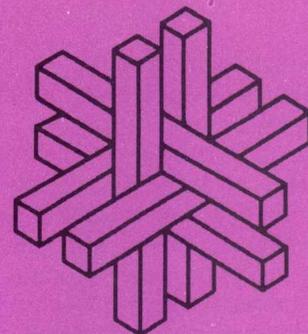


Sectoral labor effects of North American Free Trade/TLC: Los impactos laborales en sectores clave de las economías
Rafael Fernández de Castro, Mónica Vereza Campos and Sydney Weintraub (eds.), 1993, 368 pp.

This book examines possible effects on the labor force of the countries involved in NAFTA, particularly in such industrial sectors as autos and textile as well as in agriculture and the *maquiladoras*. Some of NAFTA's legal implications are also reviewed.

Centro de Investigaciones sobre Estados Unidos de América-
Coordinación de Humanidades,
1991-92 edition, 212 pp.

These bibliographical bulletins catalogue the materials which the library of the Center for Research on the United States of America (now Center for Research on North America) has been collecting since its creation in June of 1989. This collection is composed of recently-published works, so as not to duplicate the efforts already carried out by other libraries in Mexico. Our main objective is to put together a collection of the most up-to-date books possible on different aspects of the United States and its relations with Mexico, as well as on Canada.



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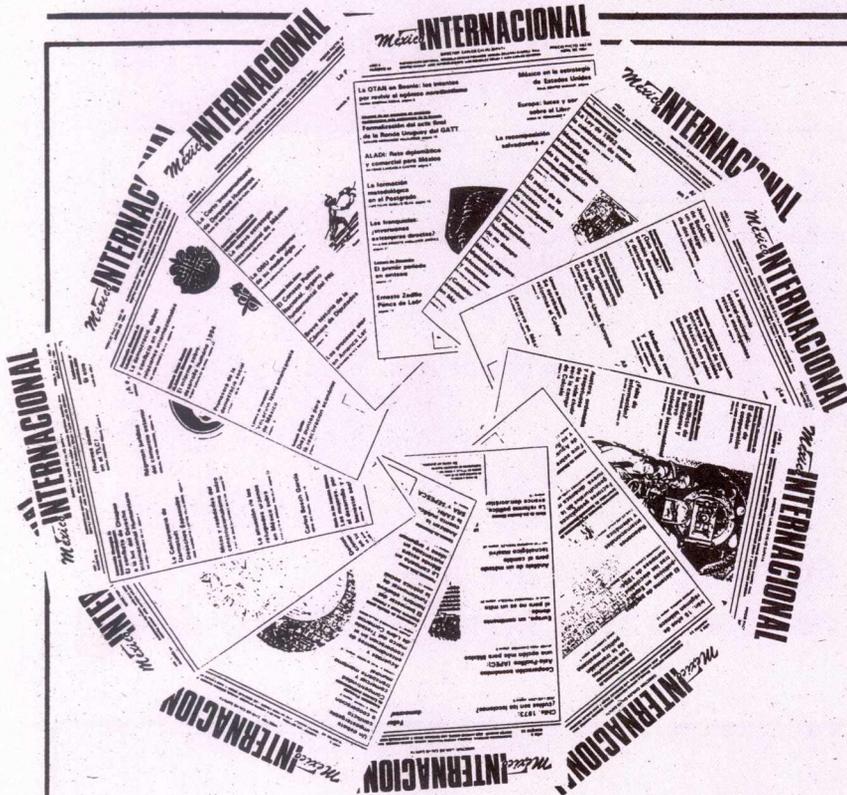
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México INTERNACIONAL cumple, con esta edición, cinco años de vida.

Partió, desde su nacimiento, de una consideración evidente: las relaciones internacionales cobran día con día una mayor importancia y una notable intensidad. Y tienen una influencia cada vez más determinante en la vida interna de cada país, del mismo modo que los espacios nacionales marcan, en conjunto, el perfil del acontecer mundial.

Separado de toda expresión meramente formalista, con lenguaje directo, llano; pero a la vez con profundidad conceptual y serenidad política, México INTERNACIONAL ha contribuido al análisis serio y a fondo de la temática mundial contemporánea.

En sus páginas han colaborado --y seguramente seguirán haciéndolo-- algunas de las cabezas más lúcidas y algunas de las plumas más calificadas de México y de otros países.

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Ha hecho importantes aportaciones a la trascendental tarea de conocer, divulgar y comprender mejor los fenómenos que definen y determinan el devenir internacional, al tiempo que ha formulado propuestas realistas y viables en el empeño de contribuir a materializar transformaciones que, con el apoyo de fuerzas diversas, logren finalmente un mundo mejor, más justo y consecuentemente más democrático. Un mundo sin guerras, más humano y más productivo desde el punto de vista político, económico y cultural.

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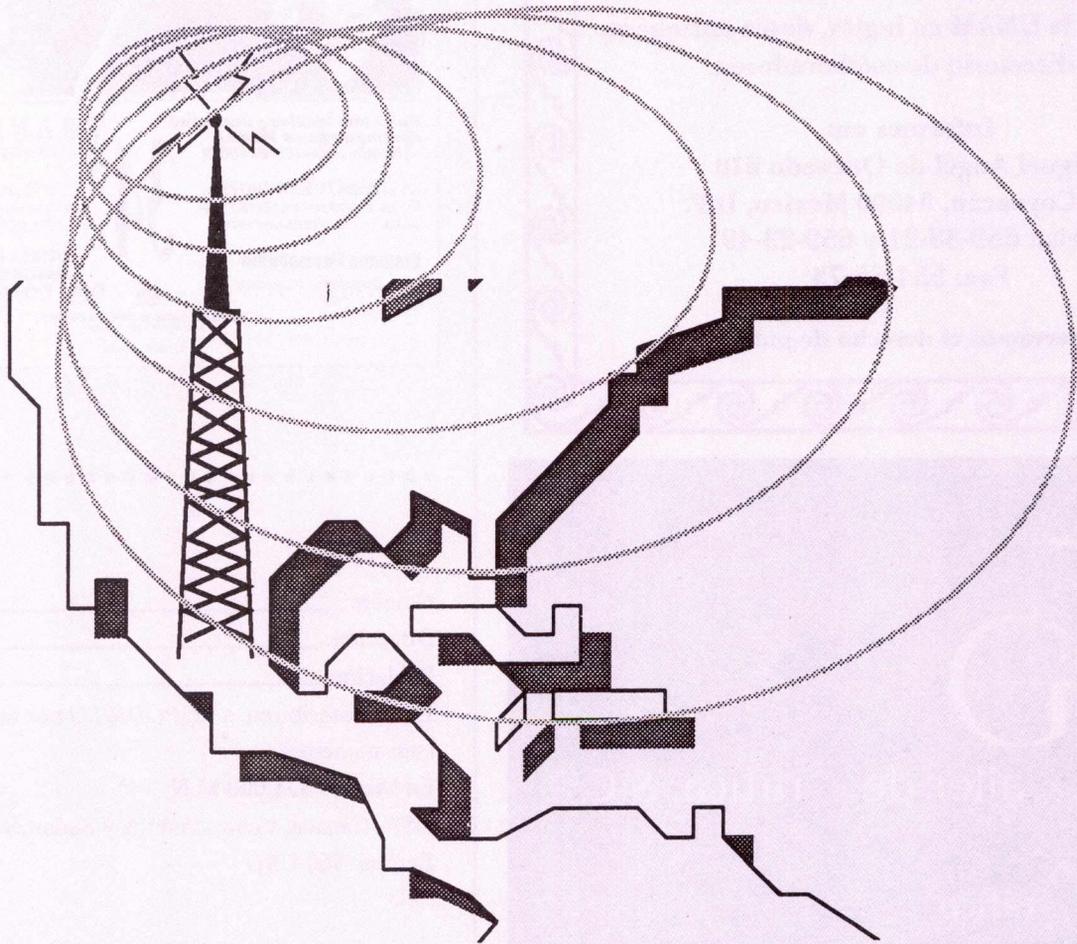
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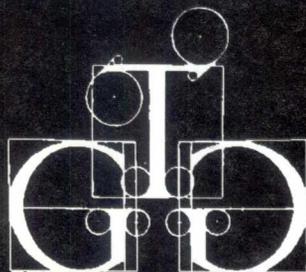
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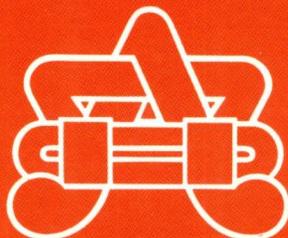
El mural **Hacia un nuevo humanismo** puede ser apreciado en el vestíbulo del **Museo Amparo** y es un ejemplo de la manera en que pueden integrarse los artistas contemporáneos para dar apoyo a la museografía de un centro cultural con colecciones prehispánicas y virreinales de primer orden. Su autor, Pedro Diego Alvarado —nieto del famoso muralista mexicano Diego Rivera— combina elementos prehispánicos, coloniales y contemporáneos que dan forma a la cultura mexicana de nuestros días.

En el mural pueden ser apreciadas recreaciones de ciertas obras de arte que forman parte de las colecciones del **Museo Amparo**. Por ejemplo, en la parte inferior se reproducen una serie de elementos plásticos que ofrecen una idea original de las raíces que han dado vida a nuestra cultura y a nuestra historia. Este segmento del mural fue coronado por su autor con una imagen de Tláloc, deidad de las aguas y la agricultura.

En ambos extremos del mural el visitante del **Museo Amparo** puede ver el surgimiento de dos columnas, una teotihuacana y otra huejotzinga. Estas columnas simbolizan el mestizaje cultural de la sociedad mexicana —la parte indígena; la parte española— y es el marco que da pie a la representación de las dos formas de cultivo que

abastecieron a la sociedad mexicana hasta principios del siglo XX: la coa indígena y el arado.

En el extremo derecho del mural podemos ver cómo emergen las cúpulas múltiples de la Capilla Real de los Indios de Cholula y la pirámide sobre cuya cúspide fue construida



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la Iglesia de los Remedios. Esto simboliza el proceso de sincretismo, en este caso religioso y arquitectónico, en el que se fundó la sociedad mestiza. Por otra parte, en el centro de la obra fue recreada la leyenda que atribuye a los ángeles el trazo de la ciudad de Puebla.

Como punto central del mural —y sobre la representación de la sierra cubierta por las nieves— podemos ver una representación simbólica del sol, con sobreposiciones del Calendario Azteca —o Piedra del Sol— y una imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe. Esta mezcla de elementos prehispánicos y virreinales representa una vez más nuestro sincretismo religioso y cultural.

Por último, en la parte superior de la obra el autor representó estrellas, galaxias y constelaciones —tal y como pueden ser vistas mediante los sofisticados telescopios de nuestros días— utilizando, simultáneamente, la simbología precolombina: la intención de esta parte del mural es mostrar los notables avances astronómicos que alcanzaron los sabios de diversas culturas mesoamericanas y que plasmaron en sus códices, pinturas y esculturas. **Hacia un nuevo humanismo** es un mural que constituye un adelanto de aquello que el visitante encontrará en las diversas salas del **Museo Amparo**, realizado por un artista contemporáneo.